

# THE MONTH

## A CATHOLIC MAGAZINE



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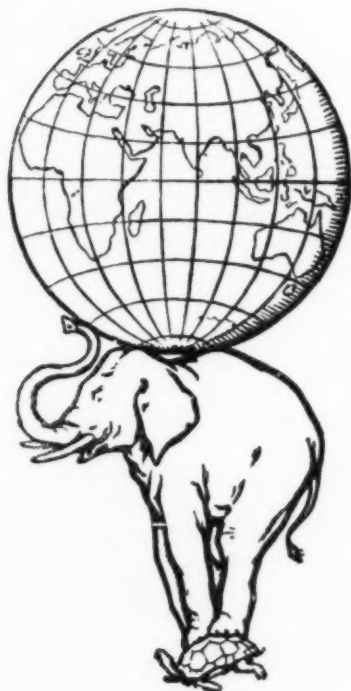
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## *The Future of Religious Education.*

THERE is a lull in the campaign against our schools. The slow pressure of administrative hostility is continuing its destructive work on some of the weaker members of the system, but the legislature, and the organs of political opinion, have diverted their attention to other subjects. Still, the danger is by no means over, and it is well that we should keep our eyes not merely on the manœuvres of the politicians, but still more on the deep-lying influences by which the future of English religious education will ultimately be determined. Professor Michael Sadler, in his recent presidential address to the Teachers' Guild, has treated this subject with an insight which makes his words well worthy of our careful study; a study to which we can turn with all the more willingness, as he is not only an educationalist whose opinions are heard with deference, but also one who has shown a sympathetic interest in Catholic schools, and is anxious to preserve for them a permanent place in the national system.

He groups his thoughts in three divisions: (1) the present conditions of the problem; (2) the permanent needs of the case; (3) a forecast of the future. Let us follow him through his exposition of these thoughts, adding as we go along such observations as occur to us.

*Present conditions of the Problem.*—Here in the first place, under the title of Psychological influences, he sets down the gradual weakening of religious convictions which is so noticeable a movement of the age. In the face of all that has been written and popularized, during the last half century, on behalf of rationalism and materialism, men are asking themselves all round whether the Christian beliefs they have inherited from their parents can be justified by reason. So far they are loth to abandon them altogether, and are pleased to observe the hold they continue to have on many really intelligent persons—for they cannot but appreciate in them their proved efficacy

in moulding and strengthening moral character, particularly in the case of the young.

The spirit of the age has brought into our thoughts about religion a wider sympathy and a wistful regret. We are sensitive to the beauty, the austere grace, of a life which is under willing obedience to a rule of faith. We feel towards it as towards a precious tradition in an art. Violent destruction of it would be a barbarism, a sacrilege. When it asks of us the right to live and work in quiet fulfilment of its task of service, we have no heart to refuse. The fierce desire to eradicate from the world that which we cannot approve as intellectually true finds no place in our mind. We are not merely tolerant, but respectful, of beliefs which we cannot ourselves accept, when we see them giving steadiness of moral habit, still more when we see them transfiguring motive, cleansing character of dross and defilement, and bringing rest to tense and harassed minds. And we admire the force of will and directness of aim which come with clear conviction. Even when we deplore or condemn what is done under its mastery, we are impressed by the power and decision which it imparts to speech and action.

Still, if minds harassed by religious doubt may hesitate to disturb a mode of teaching which yields these edifying results, they may none the less be led by the very spectacle of these results into channels of reflection which will prevent them from offering serious resistance to the substitution of a new order. "These differing forms of religious belief," they may say, "seem to have a uniform success in the fashioning of virtuous characters. Can we not feel our way to something that seems to lie behind them all, giving to each its power for good commingled in each with much that makes for evil"? And may we not hope that when found we may be able to release this precious element from the evil habitations which confine it? For our part, we may think that the religious methods which are working side by side in our English schools are not so uniform in the success of their moral output, but we must allow that observers of the class indicated think them so; and that, being of this mind, it is natural for them to view with favour a movement like that of the Moral Education League, which claims to have discovered and disengaged that something that lies behind, and found it to be a serious and systematic inculcation of the principles of independent morality.

In the next place among the influences pointing either to the excision of the religious lesson, or else to a radical alteration of its character, Professor Sadler sets down the growth and

spread of the scientific spirit. By this term is of course meant the spirit which impels minds to rest satisfied with nothing short of reality, and hence to be intolerant of beliefs and systems which cannot ground themselves on this sure foundation, and suspicious of prejudices and pre-conceived notions as calculated to obscure the clear vision of the facts. It is called the scientific spirit, because it is generally supposed that the rigidly objective methods of modern scientific research have been chiefly instrumental in cultivating it. We know how in its name the Christian religion is divested of the immunity from criticism which it is (wrongly) supposed to claim as its privilege; how it is dissected, and its manifestations are correlated with what are deemed to be kindred phenomena, and how as the result of this process it is declared to have nothing unique about it which can entitle it to rank as a divine revelation. If we understand Professor Sadler rightly, he thinks that this scientific spirit, which has operated with such deadly results on the religious beliefs of the cultivated classes, will not much longer suffer the religious teaching given to the nation's children to escape from its purview. The ordinary Englishman readily accepts a dualism of thought; he is content to reason in one way about all other subjects, in another way about religion, and is not much troubled because the effect is to fill his mind with conflicting notions. But this happy-go-lucky method, which has so far presided over the formation of religious syllabuses, must soon be discarded, and then the religious lesson must either perish altogether or be re-shaped to the exigences of the new ideas.

Professor Sadler hopes that it will be retained, if even in a form not widely differing from that at present in use; and he claims this in the very name of the scientific spirit.

Physical studies are accustoming us to a conception of the universe which is far removed from the stiff and imprisoning materialism of an earlier stage. The biological view of human development prepares us to assign to spiritual forces, to will and faith and self-sacrifice, a great part in the furtherance of the individual and social welfare of men. It has thrown emphasis upon the corporate view of human life, upon the interdependence of the several parts of the social organism, upon the moral elements in associated effort. Psychology presses upon our notice the power of belief, of self-surrender, of obedience to an ideal. And, under the influence of scientific method, historical and anthropological studies have thrown new light upon religious development, have set the records of the spiritual experience of mankind in truer

perspective, and given a new significance to our study of the Bible. Coherence and unity begin to form where once was discontinuity of thought and discord of presuppositions. . . . Thus there is emerging from the study of natural science a temper and attitude of mind intimately favourable to religious thought, and adverse to any plan of early education which would exclude from the child's training help in learning to notice and become familiar with the facts of spiritual experience.

Still, though he pleads thus in the name of the scientific spirit that religion may retain its place in the State schools, he foresees that this may not be. He fears the tragic possibility that "some uprush from below of opinions generated by a crude and now discarded materialism may sweep for a time from education much that the true leaders of scientific thought would, on the whole, prefer to leave there than roughly to discard."

Here, again, after making the distinction between what is likely to be and what we should wish to be, we must think that Professor Sadler rightly traces the path along which we are moving. Still, it is well for us to reflect also that a refashioning of religious teaching in this sense would tend to be of a nature more repellent than attractive to those who, like ourselves, plead anxiously for the right to bring up their children to the Christian religion. One of the most recent projects in France is to force on the school children manuals of what is euphemistically called the science of religions. Needless to say the object of these manuals is not to impress on the children the importance of religion for the guidance of life, but to induce them to despise it as a useless and obsolescent superstition. There is another movement in our own country which does not go so far as that, but which would reconstruct the Christian religion on the principle of extracting from it those features of a supernatural character which modern science and philosophy are thought to have discredited. Either of these species of religious teaching we should view as calamities were they to find entrance into our schoolrooms; but is there not a solid danger lest one or other, or both of them, should enter if "the scientific spirit," as some conceive of it, is allowed to regulate the religious lesson?

In the third place, as threatening the present form of the religious lesson, Professor Sadler sets down certain "changes in Administrative Outlook and Political Opinion." The teaching profession has learnt to resent as an outrage on the religious

freedom of its members all such existing conditions as interfere with the independence of their religious teaching. This, again, taken as a simple fact, is undeniable, as is also the impropriety of requiring from a teacher that he should teach what he does not interiorly believe—or even that he should be hampered in the full expression of thoughts and feelings which are the living source of his religious earnestness. Hence the motives are intelligible which induce Professor Sadler to pronounce impressively that “upon the real freedom of the teacher to give, if there is occasion for his services, that religious teaching of the truth of which he is firmly convinced, the future of religious instruction in schools largely depends.” Still, no educational system can be really satisfactory which does not allow for the rights of the children’s parents as well as for those of the teachers. We should prefer, therefore, to modify—or, shall we rather say, complete—the thought of this pronouncement by wording the sentence thus: “Upon the distribution of the teachers among the schools in such sort that they can give the religious teaching of which they are firmly convinced, whilst at the same time meeting the religious requirements of the parents, the satisfactory future of religious instruction in schools largely depends.” Nor do we think, judging from what he forecasts lower down in his address as desirable arrangements for the future, that Professor Sadler would dissent from the terms of this modified sentence.

At this point the lecturer indicates four other changes which he thinks have “strengthened the position of religious teaching in our national education.”

(1) The services which the denominational schools have rendered and are rendering to the cause of education, in town and country, are better understood now than they were forty years ago, and are proportionately valued. In 1870 it was anticipated that before long the superior merits of the Board Schools would have so clearly demonstrated themselves that even the most resolute maintainers of Voluntary Schools would feel that they had no reason to stand out from them. This anticipation has not been fulfilled. On the contrary, the Denominationalists have grown all the more attached to their schools, whilst—but this is our observation, not Professor Sadler’s—parents who have no inclination to accept the creed of these schools, are found in appreciable numbers to prefer their humble shelter for their children, on the ground that their method enables them to teach better manners.

(2) Professor Sadler sets down a cause, which, as it refers to our Catholic schools, we had better let him describe entirely in his own words.

For a variety of reasons the Roman Catholic claims are more fully recognized in English political and social life than was the case forty years ago. The House of Commons is more responsive to Roman Catholic arguments; the Board of Education is well acquainted with the devotion and skill of many of the Roman Catholic educators. The result is that whoever surveys the educational position in England has to take account of the tenacity of the Roman Catholic Church in maintaining the schools which are under its own influence and control. It would be no easy task for any Government to withdraw all grants of public money from the Roman Catholic schools in London and Lancashire. And this fact has a wide bearing, because few English people would now propose to grant privileges to one religious community which were denied to others.

We must thank the writer for these words, and may we not also congratulate ourselves on the success with which we have convinced our legislators, not only that our claim to keep our own schools must be respected, but that, as long as we are left to conduct them, no effort on our part will be spared to make them as efficient in secular subjects as are the other schools—so far, that is to say, as devotedness and skill can supply for the want of the long purse. One further observation on the last sentence in the passage quoted may not be amiss in this place. Not that Professor Sadler himself in any way needs it, but because two constructions can be set upon the sentiment the words express, only one of which is just. The exceptions we demand for ourselves as indispensable if the religion of our children is not to be undermined, we demand likewise for all other classes of parents, so far as they demand them for themselves. This is one possible construction of the sentiment, and the just one. The other construction, which is sometimes given, runs thus: "Exceptions that we do not require for ourselves we decline to have granted to others." Against this dog-in-the-manger construction we shall always protest.

(3) There is a growing tendency towards interdenominational effort in social work at home, as in the mission field abroad. Assuming that the dissensions and jealousies among the different Christian bodies (we do not think that jealousy enters in, so far as we are concerned) are what have led to the

secularizing of the schools, Professor Sadler hopes that this growing disposition to co-operate for some purposes may be carried further, and lead to the acceptance of a common form of religious teaching in the State schools which will satisfy all. Here, we must confess, we cannot follow him. So far as the different Nonconformist bodies are concerned, have they not already united in this way, and is not the Cowper-Temple platform their accepted syllabus for this purpose? It is, too, quite intelligible that they should unite in accepting it. We may be amazed that they should consent to leave the teaching of this syllabus to teachers chosen without reference to their attitude towards it, but the syllabus itself corresponds entirely with the *quantum* of religious doctrine which Nonconformists think desirable and sufficient for children, and do not pass beyond even in their own Sunday schools. Still, the attainment of this agreement among the Nonconformists has not moved the Church of England, at least as a whole, to wish to enter into it; nor is it at all conceivable that we Catholics should consent to enter into it. And the reason is not so far to seek. Differences of religious denomination may imply radical differences of religious life, or mere differences (if the figure may be permitted) of religious war-paint. The differences which divide the Nonconformists among themselves, are mainly differences of war-paint; in religious life these communities are identical. On the other hand the differences which keep apart Nonconformists and High Churchmen, or Protestants of all classes and Catholics, or again—to take the term “religious” in its broader sense, as designating a man’s attitude towards the ultimate issues of human destiny—the differences which keep apart Christians and Agnostics, are radical differences of religious life. When this distinction is borne in mind it will appear why these various classes—though they may respect one another and readily co-operate for social objects which are unaffected by their differences—can never be resigned to the co-education of their children with other children, under teachers of other faiths than their own. For, however much the children may be set apart at certain hours, in different rooms or corners, to receive different types of religious lessons, the religious life of the school remains one and the same, being determined by the religious proclivities of the teachers, at all events if they teach in full accordance with what they interiorly believe—and if



they do not do that, then the religious life of the school is of the indifferentist type.

(4) There is a growing feeling that the strengthening of the moral character, which has hitherto been sadly neglected in the State Schools, should rather be deemed the first end of all for the teacher to pursue. Professor Sadler reckons this to be another influence working for the retention of the religious lesson. Not that all who share this feeling wish to see the religious lesson retained, but because so many have noted the singular power of religious influences in "giving that firm view of life which, on the intellectual side, is one of the safeguards of sturdy character." This is a consideration that has come up before. We could wish that it might receive the reflection it deserves.

Against these influences which, in Professor Sadler's opinion, are working for the retention of the religious lesson, in some form or other, as a vital element in the syllabus of the future, he notes four other causes which are working for its abolition.

(1) First comes the contention that teachers are public servants, and that it is as incongruous for them as for any other public servants to be called upon to impart denominational, or any other general religious teaching. This contention is firmly held by the present generation of teachers, and teachers are rapidly gaining in political strength. We may certainly expect then that their influence will make itself powerfully felt in the day of the seemingly forthcoming changes. Still, the demand that a State teacher should not be called upon to teach religion is surely unreasonable. The duties of a public servant should be determined by the needs of his department of work. In Army, Navy, or Treasury work religious teaching is not required, in the schoolroom it is; that is, if it be true as it is—and as Professor Sadler will tell us in words we shall quote presently,—that religion is an essential element in the moral and intellectual formation for which the schools exist. It is then, we submit, as grotesque for a State teacher to complain that he is expected to teach religion, because no other class of State teachers are expected to teach it, as it would be for an army officer to complain that he was expected to teach the art of war, because that is not required of the Treasury or Custom House clerks. Of course there is the other plea for exemption from the duty of religious teaching, the plea that conscience forbids one



to give it, at all events in the form in which the particular school requires it to be given. The validity of this plea we have acknowledged, but the inference to which it points, we must repeat, is not that the school should be left without religious teaching, or be compelled to receive that form of it which happens to suit a teacher appointed on other grounds, but in a wiser distribution of the teachers among the schools. But what, it may be urged, if the schools do not happen to fit, in number and kind, the religious specialities of the teachers in the market? Surely then it is not the teachers but the children who have first to be considered. Our modern teachers are rather too disposed to regard the children as clay provided by a benignant providence for teachers to exercise their art upon. But that is not the case. The children have personalities of their own with the rights incident to personalities. The children of Protestant parents have the right to receive a Protestant not a Catholic formation from their teachers, the children of Catholic parents, or again of agnostic parents, have similar rights which their teachers, and the State which appoints them, are bound in honour and equity to respect. The teachers, in short, are for the children and not the children for the teachers.

(2) The teachers as they rise in the social scale resent more and more the attempts to subject them to denominational control. It is the State or the Local Authorities by whom they are paid, and theirs is the only dictation they are prepared to receive. Let then the denominational authorities keep hands off, and, except for the case of the State fixing limits to it, let the teachers be free to give the religious instruction that commends itself to their consciences. This again is undoubtedly a feeling that does exist, not much I think among our Catholic teachers, but among a good many others in the country. Professor Sadler is right therefore in placing it on the list of influences militating for the discontinuance of the religious lesson. Considered in itself, we submit that this chafing under denominational control is condemnable for the same reasons as the similar chafing under the obligation to give religious teaching of any kind. Persons may like it or not, but at least it is a fact, and a very permanent fact of history, that religious belief, at all events in the vast majority of those who have it, is intimately bound up with membership of some organized religious communion that has a creed and institutions, which

the recognized authorities of the communion are charged to maintain, and exact as indispensable for membership. Hence to resent the control of denominational authorities in schools connected with the respective denominations is nothing less than to resent the claim of the children to be brought up in the religion for which the schools were built.

(3) The waning of the influence of the squires and the parsons in the rural districts must count for much in the estimate of future changes, for it is they who have made the denominational schools, with their decided religious teaching and atmosphere, possible during all these decades. Cases of neglect or intolerance can easily be collected and laid to the charge of these benignant despots of the past; but Professor Sadler pays them the tribute of a just acknowledgment when he judges that their influence, in the balance, has been enormously for the good; and that they deserve grateful remembrance for the self-sacrifice and devotedness which, at a time when few others thought of it, they dedicated so freely and generously to the service of the poor by the education of their children. But this long period of semi-feudal predominance is drawing to a close, overwhelmed by the influx of a variety of causes, and the villages are now demanding that they shall be as free as the towns, and that their village schools shall be their own, administered by the Local Authorities which they have chosen by their votes, and the teachers whom these in their solicitude have sent them. Thus the prospect seems to be that the State teacher will succeed those former despots and become in their stead the little god of the village. Whether he will succeed so well as they, and assure to the inhabitants greater freedom and a larger outlook, is a secret which the future only will reveal to us. But once more we are with the writer of the Address in judging that this substitution is among the probabilities of the future.

(4) Fourthly, Professor Sadler reckons in the feeling now become general, that the State, not being a theocracy, is not entitled to prescribe a form of religious belief to its subjects and that it oversteps its province when it frames and imposes a religious syllabus. Yet, if the State cannot impose one, who can? Denominational control being tabooed, what other course is open save to omit the religious lesson altogether, or to allow the teacher to give it in conformity with a syllabus of his own construction? Once more we must admit that, this being the

general feeling among the teachers and others, it had to be included among the causes making for change. Still, in criticism of this general feeling, it may be said that it overlooks an aspect of the State's duty under which it is entitled to exercise some control over the religious teaching given by its representatives. It can and should act as the representative of the parents to safeguard their right to be protected against its own servants, should the latter venture on teaching which the parents deem harmful for their children to receive. The misfortune which has brought the State's intervention on this score into disrepute is that of late it has too often, at the bidding of a powerful political interest, gone outside its proper defensive function, and sought to promote administrative simplicity by imposing syllabuses which have proved veritable Procrustean beds for the consciences of the parents.

*The permanent needs of the case.*—On comparing these two classes of tendencies, Professor Sadler judges, and we with him, that the resultant tendency is unfavourable to the religious lesson. This is the conclusion to which the first section of his Address has brought him. In the second he calls attention to one or two points which need to be weighed carefully by all who may have a part to play in bringing in the new system. All, however, that he lays down in this section may, for the purpose of this article, be summed up in one wise reminder—namely, that religious influence, with which the religious lesson has a vital connection, cannot, if we take it in the broader sense of the term religious, be really excluded from the formation given in the schools; and hence that, if disaster is not to follow, it is of prime importance to understand thoroughly the true nature of this influence, and the conditions under which alone the teacher can exercise it efficiently. After a precautionary reminder that the schools for which this religious problem has to be solved are not merely those which are attended by our boys and girls, but those also in which adolescence pursues its higher studies, he expounds his ideas about religious influence in two fine passages, one on the exploded notion that religion can be extracted from the syllabus without affecting the subjects that remain in it, the other on the freedom to teach what his heart believes without which the flame of the teacher's religious enthusiasm cannot hope to enkindle the hearts of his pupils.

The idea that education is a faggot of "subjects," tied together with birch-twigs, out of which you can pull the stick called "religion" without any serious loss of kindling for the fire, is an interesting bit of pre-biological psychology. Some politicians seem to value these relics of the past as others treasure Georgian samplers or sedan chairs; but the idea of escaping from educational difficulties by just leaving religion out (though by no means extinct politically) is intellectually as old-fashioned as the contemporary notion that the abstract "economic man" can be conceived of, and observed in action and legislated for, apart from the ordinary citizen with his skin full of many other tendencies and motives, all of them crossing and deflecting one another in the vibrating unity of his life. To leave religious influence out of education is to desiccate it. You may indeed pretend to leave it out, with the private hope that its aroma and presuppositions will remain. But that is evasion, not settlement. . . . "In the eventful and hazardous interval which all must cross between childhood and manhood, two terrible powers of evil are to be met with in each man's path—ignorance and sin. If education is to have its perfect work, both must be encountered, both must be defeated. Education only fulfils half its office, it works with a maimed and distorted idea, unless it deals with character as well as with intellect; unless it opens and enlightens the mind as well as directs, and purifies, and fortifies the will."<sup>1</sup>

And again :

In the attempt to fulfil this task the educator needs all the powers at his command. How can he (save under stress of necessity) willingly dispense with the power of the faith by which he lives? But it must be the faith by which he really lives. Intense personal conviction—the more moving when curbed in utterance—can alone give to his religious teaching, to his religious influence, the power of persuasion and of intimate moral appeal. Therefore the teacher must be free, free not to give instruction for which he feels unfitted or unprepared, free to give instruction in the faith in which he believes to those children whose parents desire them to receive it.

It is with the greatest pleasure we cite these two passages, containing as they do the two fundamental points on which the Catholic party, all through this long Education controversy, has based its claim to "Catholic schools for Catholic children under Catholic teachers." True, Professor Sadler continues the last quotation from the place where we have closed it with an appeal to us "to trust the teacher not to misuse his freedom." But given our separate schools, this stipulation has no terrors

<sup>1</sup> For this quotation see Dean Church's *Pascal and other Sermons*, p. 218.

for us. We choose our teachers just because we believe that we can trust them. In schools which are in relation with no denominational authorities it seems to us that this demand for implicit trust raises serious difficulties, but this is a point to which we shall return presently.

*A Forecast of the probable Future.*—These are the needs and these the forces at work. What is to be the issue? Professor Sadler's forecast, which is not inconveniently but helpfully confused with his reasoned desires, is drawn out with a fulness of detail into which we have not space to enter. It is generously conceived, and allows place for a variety of type in the school provision, without which he does not see how the educational peace so beneficial to the country can be preserved. To confine ourselves to the case of Elementary and Secondary Day Schools—which is the case in which the adherents of definite creeds are chiefly at the mercy of the Government—he anticipates that the plan followed in the recent Education Bills will be adhered to, but purged of its impracticabilities. On the question of admitting a variety of types, which is so important for us, he expresses himself as follows :

In "plural-school areas" (areas, that is, in which choice of elementary schools can be allowed without detriment to educational efficiency), I agree with those who, on educational grounds, deprecate any monopoly of local public control. Provided that all schools are required to come up to a fit standard of excellence in their methods of teaching and in the hygienic and other conditions of corporate life, diversity of type is an advantage. There is no one way in education. We are on the verge of a period of extensive educational experiment. It will be wise not to put all our eggs into one basket. What I plead for here is diversity—for diversity within a framework of administrative unity—but not for "contracting out" or for any encouragements to a cheap and inferior education, conducted by teachers inadequately paid and excluded from some of the privileges of membership in the great body of their profession.

If this mixed system were permitted, he does not think that only denominationalists would take advantage of it. Still, it is chiefly they who would use it, nor does he think that any evil consequence, such as "a malignant hostility to the established order of the State," would result from the concession.

On the contrary, the statutory recognition of such schools, where

desired by the parents, would prevent the growth of a bitter feeling of injustice; would deepen the sense of national unity; would secure for national education the hearty good-will and useful co-operation of many powerful bodies; and would have the further advantage of keeping the educational work of the religious bodies (which will not be eradicated in any case) under the intellectual stimulus of public inspection and in organic union with the main currents of our national life. The denominational schools, in their turn, would be the means of preserving the educational and moral tradition which has grown out of devotion to a religious way of life, and which appeals to many temperaments (though not to all) as does no other character-forming influence in education. It is in these schools also that the teaching of the organized religious bodies, in its application to the needs of young people, would find continuity and development.

As it is the Catholic body, though not it only, which will avail itself of this concession, should it be made, we may add our assurance to Professor Sadler's that he truly represents our feeling when he credits us with the desire to work in these voluntary schools in all possible cordiality with the State authorities. Indeed, the Education Offices, Governmental and Local, know this well from a long experience of our ways. One thing only we further stipulate for, and we mention it because Professor Sadler does not make it quite clear enough in his address. Though, theoretically, we do not see why the position of privilege in the State schools should be given to those who believe the least, we have no wish to raise objections on this head. We see the difficulty in which our friends in the Government are placed, and we are quite willing to build and maintain at our own expense the fabric of our schools—provided advantage is not taken of our conscientious convictions to impose on us quite intolerable burdens, on the unreal plea of "hygienic requirements." It may be becoming (though we are disposed to doubt it) that the State schools should be built like palaces, at enormous cost to the rate-payers, but in any case such sumptuous buildings are not an educational necessity, and ought not to be exacted from those who are doing their best, under peculiarly hard conditions, to preserve to their children what they conceive to be the pearl of great price. May we trust that some provision for the removal of this very real grievance will be included in the educational settlement of the future?

In single-school districts Professor Sadler's forecast is that the one school must be entirely under State control. This is an eventuality which may press hardly in some places. Still, it can hardly be avoided; and, besides, can, if there be good will, be dealt with administratively on equitable principles, in view of the circumstances of the neighbourhood. But to pass this over, and finish with just a word on what Professor Sadler offers as the probable and desirable future of the religious lesson, if it is preserved in the Council schools. It is a question which will not greatly concern ourselves, for Catholics will always be withdrawn under the Conscience Clause from these non-Catholic religious lessons. Still, as Englishmen, we cannot help contemplating with some alarm what must result if in all these schools, in town and country, the children are to be at the mercy of this unfettered liberty of religious teaching accorded to teachers not chosen on religious grounds. For, when we are asked to trust the teachers in this wholesale way, it must be noted that we are to trust not merely their good will, and desire to be fair—a kind of trust which we might perhaps accord in the mass of instances—but their power to select appropriate religious teaching. *Quot homines tot sententiae* is a truth surely which will be found peculiarly applicable to a multitude of English religious teachers left to the unchecked outflow of their own individualism. Will religion of any kind, one asks oneself, survive the conflicts of such a Babel?

However, if we Catholics are given our own schools apart, we are content to leave this issue to those whom it more directly concerns.

We will finish our notice of this interesting address by thanking the President of the Teachers' Guild for giving it, and for constructing it in so conciliatory a form. If only he might move the country to heed his concluding words.

For the nation to adopt the policy of privileged secularism would be to miss a great opportunity. England may, if she wishes, set an example to the world in the generosity and efficiency of her educational system. She, as can no other great nation, may unite in tolerant synthesis diverse types of school and diverse kinds of educational influence, and in this, as in other branches of public policy, preserve by a bold combination of opposites her historical continuity and her social peace.

S. F. S.



### *The Women's Industrial Council.*

MUCH has been said at the recent Catholic Truth Conference at Manchester—by the Rev. Charles Plater, S.J., by Mr. Leslie Toke, and those who took part in the discussions raised by their papers—as to the lines along which our social activity ought to flow in the immediate future. Speakers were all agreed that our endeavours must be infused with a progressive spirit, that we must not be content to walk merely in long-trodden paths, that co-operation is, in many fields, both feasible and desirable, and that we must be eager to learn both from Catholics abroad and from non-Catholics at home. Our mood of the moment being then far removed from anything that savours of self-sufficiency, it seems unnecessary to reiterate arguments that were developed so recently to so large an audience. What we have to do forthwith, it would seem, is to educate ourselves, and, as a first step, I would suggest to gain a fuller acquaintance with all that our non-Catholic friends are doing in the same field as ourselves. Only so shall we be in a position to judge just where we can co-operate and join forces with them, and where we must be prepared to act on our own initiative. Moreover, much is possible to a majority that is beyond the power, or the means, of a small section of the community to undertake, and we may find, ready to our hand, stores of information, garnered indeed by the zeal and the enterprize of others, but to the benefits of which we, with others, are welcome.

There is no branch of economic study in which the need of such knowledge makes itself more urgently felt than in all that concerns the industrial labour of women. It is a subject which of recent years has assumed a national importance and has given rise to discussion that has not always been conducted in a spirit of sweet reasonableness. It is surrounded by a whole host of thorny questions. The under-cutting of men's wages; the effects of industrial employment on marriage



statistics, on child-bearing, on infant mortality; the need or otherwise of special legislation to regulate the work of those who presumably are not qualified to protect themselves; the advantages and disadvantages of the economic independence of women and the connection between such independence and their demand for political rights—these are but a few of the problems involved. They are problems on which Catholic sociologists should have much to say, for they all bear more or less directly on the status and conditions of family life. Theorizing on such subjects is within the competence of many, but we want something more than detached theory. We want a scientifically-carried-out investigation into the actual conditions of women's industrial existence and a body of reliable statistics from which to deduce definite conclusions that shall be in harmony with Catholic moral teaching. Then only shall we know what to oppose and what to defend, then only shall we be in a position to formulate some effective policy which might rally our now scattered forces.

This very work of inquiry and study, of investigation and classification, is being already done in great measure for women's labour by an organization that is far less known among Catholic social students than it ought to be. The Women's Industrial Council brings into close union for this purpose a number of women of proved service in the social field. For fifteen years the organization, which sprang originally out of the Women's Trade Union Association, has laboured to promote the industrial betterment of women workers. It does this in a variety of practical ways: by promoting petitions and deputations to Ministers in connection with proposed legislation affecting women; by reporting breaches of the Factory and Public Health Acts to the proper authorities; by educating industrial workers through lectures, conferences, &c., and by publishing leaflets and pamphlets on questions of the moment. The main work of the Council, however, is that of investigation: continuous systematic inquiry into the actual conditions of women's work and the publication of trustworthy information concerning it. Technical training for girls whether by means of apprenticeship or trade-schools, also comes within its purview. Thus it can be seen that the activities of the Council cover a very wide field. It has wisely kept clear of all restrictions whether of creed or party, and it has sympathizers and supporters in many parts of the country and in all social ranks.

The Council itself numbers some 300; men are eligible as well as women, and candidates are admitted by election on the nomination of two members. The minimum subscription is but one shilling, and for five shillings per annum members receive not only *The Women's Industrial News*, the useful little quarterly periodical of the Council, but also all the pamphlets and leaflets as they appear. It must be obvious, however, that the organization could not be maintained on such a basis without frequent generous help from its richer members. What has been aimed at is the formation of a body of more or less expert social workers representing all interests, and all points of view, who will give their knowledge and their experience for the benefit of the female industrial worker. Three times a year the Council holds a general meeting, when important questions of policy are decided; ordinary business is entrusted to an executive committee, to a secretary, Miss Wyatt Papworth, who, it is pleasant to know, is a Catholic, and to three standing committees dealing respectively with law, with education, and with investigation. A glance at the work of each of these committees will supply some idea of the very varied activities pursued by the organization.

It is no small task in these days to keep abreast of all legislative enactments, actual or prospective, that may affect the industrial position of women. They have been the objects—sometimes the victims—of so much well-meant legislative zeal! Bills before Parliament have to be scrutinized lest, on the one hand, they interfere unduly with women's liberty, and on the other lest clauses be so loosely drawn that in practice they prove of no avail. Not infrequently so many special exemptions are sanctioned to a restrictive Act that the work of the inspector whose duty it is to check its infringement becomes abortive. Even the best of industrial laws require close watching in their application, for there is no end to the ingenuity of employers when it is a question of circumventing trade regulations. Women-workers, it is well known, are far less protected by trades unions than men, and the legal committee of the Women's Industrial Council devotes much of its energies to fighting the battles of those who are incapable of self-defence. A typical example of the sort of supervision it exercises has been supplied during the last year by its efforts to protect the girl-assistants in florists' shops from working excessive hours, *i.e.*, from six in the morning till ten at night. The circumstances of the intervention

are summed up as follows in the latest issue of the *Women's Industrial News*.

It will be remembered that a decision of the Lord Chief Justice that a florist's shop was a workshop, because bouquets were made there with wire, brought all these places under the supervision of the Factory inspectors. The employers protested, and the Home Secretary made a draft Order enabling workroom hands to continue their work between the hours of eight and ten in the evening outside the factory. Under the Factory Acts it is possible to have thirty days' overtime in the year for two hours each day. An assistant might, therefore, work overtime from six or eight in the morning until eight at night, and she might in addition be employed under the draft Order from eight until ten in the evening.

The Council therefore opposed the Order; protests and negotiations were followed by a Home Office conference, and this again by a magisterial inquiry, and though the points under dispute would appear to be not yet decided, it is anticipated that considerable alterations will be made in the draft Order. One can only feel thankful that defenceless shop-assistants should have behind them an organization that insists on their enjoying conditions of work that the law intended them to have. The case has a special interest for Catholics, as one of the reasons alleged by the florists for working their hands on occasions both early and late was the supposed necessity of decorating Catholic churches for religious festivals at inconvenient hours, an allegation in support of which no shred of real evidence was, I believe, forthcoming.

The Educational Committee carries on its work partly by lectures, partly by publications. It has issued an excellent little series of penny pamphlets summarizing the labour laws as they affect women in Italy, Germany, France, the United States, Australia, and Finland. Half-penny leaflets give information concerning Factory, Truck Acts, laundry-workers, registry offices and so forth. Quite recently two very valuable pamphlets have been issued which I would commend to all philanthropic workers. One<sup>1</sup> summarizes very clearly the now complicated mass of legislation—Factory Acts, Shop Hours Acts, Education Acts, Public Health Acts,—which regulate the daily work of women and girls. It contains a surprising amount of practical information within its twenty-four pages, and concludes

<sup>1</sup> *Labour Laws for Women and Children in the United Kingdom.* By Mrs. G. C. Harvey. 1½d. post free.

with a useful bibliography. The other,<sup>1</sup> which by the importance of its subject deserves far fuller notice than I can give it here, deals with boy and girl labour—perhaps the most urgent of all national problems at the present moment. No one, probably, is more fitted to speak on the subject than Miss Adler, who is doing much valuable work on the Education Committee of the London County Council. In clear and forcible language she and Mr. Tawney point out the evils of our present educational system, the absence of any adequate technical training for our young people, and the consequent wide prevalence of destitution and juvenile crime, and they conclude with a series of practical suggestions both administrative and legislative. If Catholics would only grasp the close connection between our own grave problem of leakage and this national question of industrial training, they would not be content to leave things as they are.

A good many lectures on a variety of subjects are also organized by the Education Committee, with a view both of making the work of the Council better known, and of instructing the public in industrial problems. Throughout the present winter a series of monthly lectures will take place at the Eustace Miles Restaurant, Chandos Street, on such topics as Women's Lodging Houses, Prison reform, Foreign methods of dealing with the unemployed, Trade-boards, and Technical training.

Investigation, however, constitutes, as I have said, the true *raison d'être* of the Council and that which differentiates it from other organizations. In France, as we all know, the *enquête*, laborious and systematic, is an essential preliminary to any agitation for reform. It is widely practised, for instance, by such a body as the *Ligue Sociale des Acheteurs*. Here in England with our haphazard and unscientific methods of approaching most social problems, its necessity and its scope are less generally recognized, and the Women's Industrial Council therefore is doing, in some measure, pioneer work of permanent national value. The Chairman of its Investigation Committee is Miss Clementina Black, an expert in industrial problems where women are concerned, and it includes such well-known workers as Mrs. J. R. Macdonald, Mrs. Carl Meyer, and Miss B. L. Hutchins. For some years the committee confined its operations to the Metropolis, and in the summer of last year it issued a report,<sup>2</sup> the fruit of much labour, on the

<sup>1</sup> *Boy and Girl Labour*. By N. Adler and R. H. Tawney. 1½d. post free.

<sup>2</sup> *Report on Home Industries of Women in London*. 1908. Price 6d., or 9d. post free. 7, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

home industries pursued by women throughout London. To-day it has embarked on a wider venture, and is concentrating its energies on an inquiry into the industrial labour of married women throughout the country.

This important undertaking has already been in progress for a year and a half, but it will be quite a twelvemonth before any of the tabulated results can be given to the public. It is in no sense a one-sided inquiry, planned to bolster up particular theories, but a thorough, scientific investigation, which includes within its scope not only the hours and conditions of women's work and rates of pay, but statistics as to the number of married women employed, their tendency or otherwise to depress wages, and other cognate questions. These inquiries necessitate house-to-house visiting in certain industrial areas by skilled investigators and the filling up of a somewhat elaborate schedule of questions. An important branch of the inquiry deals with the woollen trade in Yorkshire, and this has been entrusted to Miss Margaret Bondfield, who is specially well equipped for the task, as friendly relations have to be established with the workers before detailed information can be obtained. Both in Yorkshire and among the cotton operatives in Lancashire one may find whole districts where married women work in the mills as a matter of course, and where quite a small proportion of the wives stay at home and mind the children. It is only fair to add that few go to the mills from choice: the main cause is lack, or at least scarcity, of work among the men. Yet the fact remains that the homes, as a result, are more or less neglected, the babies prematurely weaned and entrusted to strangers, and the women themselves often compelled to labour under conditions seriously detrimental to health. That there is a high infant mortality in these districts, and many symptoms of physical degeneration in the adult population are unhappily beyond dispute. That grave moral evils are also prevalent has often been suspected, but never conclusively established. On all these points the investigation should throw much new light, and when the laborious work of tabulating the cases and compiling tables of statistics is completed the value of the whole undertaking will be made abundantly clear. It will render accessible, in a convenient form, much authoritative information concerning women's trades that either was not procurable at all or had to be sought for in a variety of publications. Meanwhile, the Council is appealing for funds to bring to a successful

issue this scheme which it is calculated will cost fully £500. When private individuals are so imbued with the social sense as to undertake work of this magnitude, work which might well form the subject of investigation by a departmental committee or even a Royal Commission, it would be a thousand pities if lack of means were in any degree to cripple their enterprize.

I think I have said enough to show how much Catholic social workers might gain by being in touch with, and if possible joining, an organization such as the Women's Industrial Council. It may, however, be urged that the Council as a whole is pledged to a more advanced social programme than most Catholics would care to be associated with. I do not believe this to be the case. Its membership is drawn from every party in the State, and it has consistently held aloof from purely political propaganda. In proof of this I may point out that only recently the Council refused to commit itself to a defence of Wages Boards as a means of enforcing a legal minimum wage. Miss Clementina Black, a life-long friend to the sweated worker and herself a warm supporter of Mr. Churchill's Trade Boards Bill, would have liked to see the Council take up a definite position in support of the principle of the measure. But a majority of the members felt that the Australian experiment did not give sufficient guarantee for the success of a similar measure in England, and voted for a non-committal attitude. Hence the only contribution made by the Council to this still controversial subject has been a useful little penny pamphlet in which the case for and against a legal minimum wage is stated with entire impartiality.

It has been said many times, and can hardly be repeated too often, that problems of poverty have passed far beyond the stage of being dealt with by alms-giving alone—as well try to cure tooth-ache with *tisane*—and all serious workers among the poor must have realized ere now for themselves the futility of practical efforts that are not based on sound economic knowledge. Yet a good many of us are still inclined to protest when we are asked to exchange our scrappy and indiscriminate charities for “new-fangled” ways of relief. True, we have learnt to co-operate more or less with non-Catholic societies that undertake definite pieces of charitable work—Prevention of Cruelty, C.C.H.F. and the like—but we still fight shy of joining forces with organizations that, so to speak, pave the way to social progress by study, by investigation and by the hammering

out of first principles. Yet few of us have the time or the capacity for acquiring by ourselves the large amount of somewhat technical knowledge that modern social work requires of us, whereas bodies such as the Women's Industrial Council exist for the very purpose of instilling it into us through pamphlets and lectures in palatable doses. Its quarterly organ, *The Women's Industrial News*, keeps its readers in touch with all current controversies concerning women's labour, much as *Progress*, the organ of the British Institute of Social Service, keeps us *au courant* with general civic and industrial developments. We cannot, I repeat, solve every question for ourselves, but we can and we ought to profit by the social and economic studies of others pending such time when we, in our turn, will be in a position to contribute our quota of Catholic social principles to the elucidation of our national problems.

VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD.



### *A Client of St. Thomas of Canterbury.*

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ENGLISH Catholics have already learnt through the press that in July last a great relic of "the holy blissful martyr of Canterbury" was restored to his native land. This is a notable part of one of the hair-shirts worn by the Saint, which was discovered after his cruel martyrdom at Canterbury, and was preserved as a precious relic at the royal Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, a house which had been particularly dear to the Saint. Of this relic a large piece was granted by the Canons of St. Victor to the Republic of Lucca in 1698, and translated to the Church of S. Maria Cortelandini in that city, where it remains to this day.

Our Saint is greatly honoured there. In the vestibule of the church an inscription engraved on a marble slab bids the stranger pause to venerate the relic of the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, and recounts the history of the translation to Lucca. In the sacristy are shown magnificent red vestments, richly embroidered in gold, which date from the period of the translation, and are only used on the feast of St. Thomas.

And here too is shown the relic itself, a large piece of hair-cloth, brown in colour, woven like a net, with great knots, a truly formidable instrument of penance. It is enclosed in an ancient reliquary of silver gilt and crystal, in the form of a cylinder, and is greatly treasured by the whole city of Lucca.

The church (usually known as S. Maria Nera, from an image of Our Lady of Loreto which is enclosed in an exact *facsimile* of the Santa Casa) belongs to the Congregation of the Clerks Regular of the Mother of God. This Congregation, which has always been small in numbers, is of Lucchese origin, and was founded by the Blessed Giovanni Leonardi, a citizen of Lucca, a Saint who is not as well known in England as he deserves to be. He was an intimate friend of St. Philip Neri, and is chiefly renowned as the founder of the great College of the Propaganda at Rome. He died in 1609, and in October of this year the



tercentenary of his death was celebrated at Lucca with extraordinary solemnity. The principal church of his Congregation is S. Maria in Campitelli at Rome, which is so interesting to English Catholics on account of the special prayers that are offered up there every Saturday for the conversion of our country. These prayers are a memorial of the zeal of our old Stuart Kings, for they are a foundation of King James III., to commemorate the fact that his son the Cardinal Duke of York (afterwards Henry IX.) was at one time Titular of Santa Maria in Campitelli.

The Clerks Regular of the Mother of God have but few houses of their Congregation. There is one at Naples, and one at Monte Carlo, besides those of Lucca and Rome, and I know not if there are any others. But though small, the Congregation has always been noted for its fervour and its regularity, and has produced not a few eminent men. Among them not the least renowned is Mansi, the great scholar, so well known for his monumental work on the Councils of the Church.

The spirit of charity which filled the heart of their blessed founder and made him burn with holy longing for the conversion of unbelievers in distant lands, is by no means dead in the hearts of his sons. Thus when a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr at Erdington begged, in the name of his community, that a small part of the sacred relic might be given to him, in order to propagate devotion to the glorious Martyr in his native land, and help on the work of its conversion to the Catholic faith, the petition was received with extraordinary kindness, and the Fathers resolved not to give merely a small portion of their treasure, which was all the monk had ventured to beg for, but actually the half of it. And this generous decision was warmly supported by Cardinal Benedict Lorenzelli, Archbishop of Lucca. And so, on the 26th of July, this precious memorial of the good shepherd who gave his life for his sheep, was brought back to England, to a place that is only a few miles distant from the Cathedral of Lichfield, where up to the Reformation a hair-shirt of St. Thomas was venerated by the faithful. It was welcomed to Erdington by a great outdoor procession of over three thousand Catholics, and here, we may hope, it will remain as a link between the past and the present, a happy sign of the revival of faith in England, and a memorial of the exquisite charity of the Cardinal Archbishop and the good Fathers of Lucca.

When the latter heard of the triumphant welcome given to their gift by the Catholics of Erdington and Birmingham, they were so touched that they assembled in their church and sang a solemn *Te Deum* of thanksgiving.

But, it may be asked, how did the relic chance to come to Lucca? What induced that Republic to petition the Canons of St. Victor of Paris for a portion of their treasure? The answer is an interesting one, and is contained in the following pages. For it is due to the zeal and devotion of a humble English lay-Brother that Lucca possesses a treasure, of which she has now so generously restored a moiety to England.

In the Annals of the Clerks Regular of the Mother of God is inscribed the history of this English lay-Brother, who is not the least honoured, nor the least saintly of the many holy men the Congregation has produced. Brother Thomas Euster is certainly quite unknown to his own countrymen, but he deserves a better fate. And so we have ventured to translate from the Italian the touching story of his life, as transcribed for us from the archives of the Congregation by the Very Reverend Father Mariano Baccelli, Superior of the house at Lucca.

We feel sure that our readers will be grateful to us for making known to them one of those hidden saints of God, whose life of obscure but heroic devotion is an honour to the land that gave him birth, as well as to the Congregation that nurtured him.

#### THE LIFE OF BROTHER THOMAS EUSTER OF THE CONGREGATION OF CLERKS REGULAR OF THE MOTHER OF GOD.

Brother Thomas was born in London, of Catholic parents according to Father Berti, but others say that Thomas was brought up in heresy, which he abjured as soon as he was old enough to discover its errors, and then fled the country. However this may be, he took up the career of a merchant, and after various wanderings settled at Leghorn, where he found a place in the warehouse of an English trader, who soon discovered his ability and faithfulness, and gave him the superintendence of all his business.

But Thomas was not made for the world, and it seemed to him that God was calling him to the religious state. One day a holy priest, Father Bernardino Pierotti, of the Clerks Regular of the Mother of God, came from Lucca on business, and met

Thomas in the house of Messrs. Gambarini and Benassai, noble merchants of Lucca. Thomas was so much edified by the modesty and humility of this good Father, that he got these gentlemen to write to him, after his return to Lucca, begging him to find a place for him in his Order.

He received a satisfactory reply, and posted off to Lucca at once. It was Christmas Eve, 1679. After alighting at an inn with his servant, he found his way to the church of these Fathers, which is known as Santa Maria Cortelandini. He asked for Father Pierotti, who at that time was Rector of the house. But the porter received him rather brusquely, and told him that this was no time to speak to the Superior, who was going to celebrate the Midnight Mass, and had therefore retired to his room at an earlier hour than usual.

Thomas was offended by this reply, as it seemed to him that he was thought of no account, and that they had made him come there without intending to welcome him or receive him into the house, as he had expected. As soon, then, as it was light, he took the same post-chaise in which he had come, and returned to Leghorn, determined to think no more of entering religion. He complained afterwards to Messrs. Gambarini and Benassai of the affront he thought he had received, and they wrote to the Father Rector about it. Father Pierotti knew nothing at all about the matter, but having inquired of the porter and found that the story was true, he at once took active steps to put things right. In this he was moved by his wonted charity, and perhaps he already foresaw what a great acquisition the Congregation would gain in Thomas Euster. He therefore ordered a chaise and posted to Leghorn, where he put up with some friends who were citizens of Lucca. He got these friends to accompany him to the warehouse of the English merchant. At the sight of the venerable Religious, Thomas felt himself so much moved that he was wont to say later that it seemed to him that it was Jesus Christ who had come to call Matthew from the seat of custom. In fact the Father had scarcely spoken to him than Thomas was vanquished, and threw himself, full of confusion, at the old priest's feet. Father Pierotti ordered him to go back with him the following day, and Thomas protested that he would obey him in everything, both then and for ever after.

It would be difficult to describe the edification of the Religious at Lucca, when they saw him appear the evening of

his arrival, still dressed as a secular, and with a rope round his neck prostrate himself in the midst of the refectory, accusing himself of his pride and begging pardon for the scandal he had given by his return to Leghorn. Thomas was clothed in the religious habit on the 8th of April, 1680, being about twenty-nine years old. He made his novitiate under the same Father Pierotti, who afterwards became his director and confessor throughout his whole life. The Fathers had many debates before Thomas's clothing as to whether he should be received into the ranks of the choir-Religious or be made a lay-Brother. The doubt was increased by the fact that he knew Latin perfectly. But the good novice decided the question by declaring that he wished to be a lay-Brother.

However, the question was raised again before his profession, for Brother Thomas was of a refined and delicate constitution, and having been brought up in easy if not luxurious circumstances, was unable to bear all the fatigues that are common to the arduous life of a lay-Brother; in fact his health often suffered in consequence. But in spite of this, he remained firm in his determination, and declared that he was quite unworthy of the high dignity of the priesthood; so that the Superiors felt bound to acquiesce in his wishes, and not trouble him further in the matter.

However, Father Bernardino took care to subject his vocation to severe proofs during the time of his novitiate. If he was unlucky enough to break any pot or pan, this would be hung round his neck, and then the Father Master would make him accompany him on a walk through the city, and take him into the shops of the silk-merchants, with this unlucky piece of earthenware still dangling from his neck, so that he was exposed to the scoffs and jeers of his old acquaintances. But all this he bore with admirable humility and in perfect silence. Disciplines, chains and hair-shirts were familiar enough to him. Not content with the ordinary fast-days of the Church, he made his whole life, as it were, one continual fast, so sparing was he in food and drink. Besides this he would seek to make his food bitter to the taste by sprinkling ashes over it. Further to mortify himself, he remained standing nearly all day long, even when he had to write, and if, sometimes, he was forced to sit down, he always tried to find an inconvenient posture, so that he might not be too comfortable. In fact we may say that the spirit of penance was always strong in him.

It is true that the spiritual sweetness which he enjoyed in Holy Communion and in the other exercises of piety recompensed him for the continual harshness with which he mortified his flesh and his passions. His Superiors, considering the impression that his holy example would be likely to make upon outsiders, and also wishing to spare him the other more fatiguing occupations to which his health was unequal, gave him the office of porter ; and he passed his whole religious life in this employment. It gave him scope for the exercise of his many virtues, among which charity was certainly the most conspicuous.

He was by no means content with giving to the poor alms for the relief of their bodily needs, but took care to provide succour also for their souls, by exhorting them to patience, instructing them in Christian doctrine, preparing them for confession, and so on. His patience was equal to his charity, and he had many opportunities of exercising it with these poor people. Once it happened that a beggar, who was not content with what Brother Thomas had done for him, raised his stick against him, and the holy Brother at once fell on his knees, with his hands joined, prepared to receive the blow. So heroic an act of virtue not only put this blusterer to confusion, but astonished and edified all who saw or heard of it. He had a special gift from God to win the confidence of those with whom he spoke about the interests of their souls, and thus he had a great influence on the numerous scholars who frequented our schools, whom he gently attracted to a life of piety. He was wont to tell them stories of the saints, or give them some little object of devotion, or he would mend their pens, or teach them to copy his own beautiful handwriting ; and thus, little by little, he would attract them to his little room near the door, and then he would recite the Office of our Lady with them, or other prayers, or read the Life of some saint. And when he had thus disposed them to devotion, he would get them to go to confession, asking one of the Fathers of the house to undertake the direction of their souls. And so it was that one of our Fathers used to call him *cane di leva*, the dog that raises the game.

In a word, there was no trouble he did not take in his dealings with seculars, to withdraw them from sin and lead them to God. And to this pious end his very external appearance contributed not a little, for he looked like a saint.

He generally stood with his hands folded or crossed on his breast, and his eyes either fixed on the ground or raised to Heaven. And this was the more remarkable as he was not at all good-looking, for his head went up into a point like a pine, and one of his eyes was awry. Yet his virtue shone so resplendently from his whole form, that it was not in the least obscured by these natural defects, and he had always the same power to draw souls to God. It was said of him that he converted more in the porter's lodge than many a great preacher in the church . . .

Father Joseph Mary Mansi, who was his confessor, was anxious that his Life should be written; and in the meantime he gave the present chronicler a sample of it, writing of Brother Thomas that to innocence of morals he united the austerities of penance, that his alms were so to speak infinite, and that his prayers were never interrupted, that his extraordinary zeal had won many souls to Jesus Christ, and that he died in the odour of sanctity, as was seen by the great concourse of people who attended his funeral.

He was generally esteemed and venerated for his singular virtues by the whole city, many Senators honoured him with their visits, and asked his advice on the most important affairs. But this did not please everyone, and some who were moved by indiscreet zeal called out against him as proud and haughty, a man who sought to interfere in matters which were no business of his, so that the persecution went so far as to have him removed from the door and confined in the country, under the specious pretext that it would have been better if he had looked after our business instead of other people's. But in the end, there were so many pressing demands for him from seculars, that it was necessary to restore him to his office.

When he had not to be at the door, he either remained in church assisting at the Masses, or in his little cell engaged in mental prayer; for he had found the means of uniting the active with the contemplative life, Martha with Magdalen.

Many times he was found in the early morning at the foot of a cross, so absorbed in ecstasy, so fixed and motionless, that he was not roused until he had been shaken and called to many times. It is supposed that he had passed a great portion of the night in this state.

He employed much time in reading spiritual books, not only the more common ones, but also the works of the holy Fathers,

translated into Italian, a language which, as we have already said, he understood very well.

He also translated into English the celebrated *Soliloquies* of the Venerable Cæsar Franciotti. He had the most ardent zeal for the Catholic faith, and not a few heretics, and especially Englishmen, owed their conversion to him. So great was his fame in the city that almost every English traveller who came to Lucca wished to make his acquaintance or to pay him a visit. Many of these were, of course, Catholics already. He was most courteous in the return of these visits, and if they were heretics, he would turn the conversation on matters of religion, but he did most to convert them by his prayers.

Once a young Englishman of noble family came to Lucca from Leghorn, furnished with an introduction to Brother Thomas. He put himself at his service with the greatest possible courtesy, but soon found that the poor lad had imbibed heretical principles with his mother's milk. And so, as he accompanied him through the city and on the wonderful walls, that are so characteristic a feature of Lucca, he took him to the place where the bones of all the dead who were removed from the General Hospital were laid together. And the young man, gazing on this spectacle, began to reflect on our mortality and to ask Thomas what Catholics believed about the soul. The good Brother seized the occasion of exposing to him the danger in which he stood of losing his immortal soul, if he should persist in those errors in which he had the misfortune to be born. This was sufficient to make the lad begin to doubt as to the truth of the tenets in which he had been brought up, and to recommend himself to Thomas's prayers, that the Lord would enlighten him if he was in error. After some time, he disclosed to our Brother the resolution he had made to abjure his heresy and embrace the Catholic faith. Thomas encouraged him and pointed out to him how much he owed to God's goodness, who had chosen him out of so many of his fellow-countrymen, who live and die in darkness; and he spoke of him to one of the priests attached to the household of Cardinal Spada, Archbishop of Lucca. His Eminence having heard the story, wished to make the young man's acquaintance, and it would be impossible to say how much pleasure this visit gave to both the one and the other.

As the youth had been recommended by Queen Anne to her Consul at Leghorn, it was necessary to carry him off and



conceal him in order to avoid complications, and give him time to prepare for his abjuration. Meanwhile the Consul came to Lucca, and took a very high tone with his Eminence, threatening him, so to speak, on the part of his Queen. However, he was answered by the Cardinal that that was why he wore red, to show that he would give his blood, if need required, for the true faith, and that he was obliged in conscience as an Ecclesiastic and a Bishop to welcome and receive any one who wished to become a Catholic.

The Consul insisted that at least he should see the young man, and learn from his own mouth if it were true that he wished to change his faith. If this were not allowed, he might suspect that he had been carried off by fraud, or even killed. The Cardinal condescended to this request, and sent for the young man from his retreat at Marlia, where he was lying hid in the house of the parish priest. The interview took place in the Cardinal's presence; and it was a veritable battle, the Consul urging upon the lad every motive that he could think of to induce him to change his resolution. He represented to him the sorrow of his aged parents, the patrimony that he would forfeit, the regard and protection of the Queen, and so on; but the young man stood firm, and the Consul went off in a rage. He vented his bile by preventing for some time the export of Lucca oil to England. But the youth became a Carmelite friar, and after his profession, a priest, and he finally died a good Catholic and an excellent Religious.

Brother Thomas had a particular devotion to St. Thomas the Martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury. He manifested this in many ways most strikingly, and he propagated the *cultus* of his patron in many cities, for instance in Rome, Naples, San Miniato, and elsewhere. He taught people a devotion which consisted of certain special prayers in honour of the Saint for the conversion of heretics and unbelievers, but especially for those in England. This zeal of his was manifested in a very special manner at Lucca, where he not only introduced so salutary a devotion in private houses, but also worked hard to have the feast of St. Thomas celebrated with great solemnity every year in our church. This solemn feast excited the warm interest of the citizens of Lucca, who also contributed to its expenses with generous alms. Through these voluntary offerings the feast became an established fact; first celebrated about 1690, it has continued ever since down to our own day. The Mass and

the Vespers of the holy Martyr are sung with solemn music, the church is adorned with magnificent hangings and decorations, a panegyric of the Saint is preached by some famous orator, and there is a great concourse of people all desirous to kiss the relic of the holy Archbishop, which is exposed to public veneration.

This relic consists of a notable part of the Saint's hair-shirt (about the size of a palm), a relic venerable because it was worn continually by the mortified Prelate ; doubly so, perhaps, (in the eyes of those who accept the legend), because it is said that, when worn-out by use, it was repaired by the Blessed Virgin, who lent her aid to the Saint while vainly striving with unaccustomed hands to mend this robe of penance. Thus this is indeed a most precious and venerable relic of the holy Archbishop ; especially when it is remembered that the rage of Henry VIII. deprived the world of the rich treasure of his precious body, which, by command of that infuriated monarch, was first reduced to ashes and then, to consummate the sacrilege, thrown into the sea.

The Canons Regular of the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, to whose care this precious deposit had been entrusted by Providence, had indeed reason to boast of the possession of so rare a relic, and to guard their treasure with the most jealous watchfulness. Nevertheless, they were induced by the representations made to them in the year 1697 by His Excellency the Gonfaloniere and the Secretaries of the Most Serene Republic of Lucca, and by the humble prayers of our Fathers, to consent to bestow a portion of the relic on the Church of Santa Maria Cortelandini in the city of Lucca. The letter which the Canons of St. Victor wrote in reply to the request of the Republic of Lucca, deserves to be inserted here.

Our Congregation feels greatly honoured by the letters which you have been pleased to write to us, and at the same time greatly edified by the religious zeal which you have displayed in supporting the petition of the Reverend Fathers of S. Maria Cortelandini, and adding your own prayers to those of your citizens in order to obtain from us a part of the hair-shirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Of a truth, our House, which was once honoured by the presence of that holy Prelate, and which ever since has always been jealous and solicitous to preserve intact this his sacred hair-shirt, as a precious pledge of his secret austerities, would not so easily have now consented to grant a part of

it to the same Reverend Fathers, if they had not been supported by the official and authoritative patronage of your august Senate.

But as soon as we saw your Lordships intervening in the affair, and that besides the general devotion of the faithful of your State to the Saint, you yourselves revealed the ardent desire you had to possess a relic so holy, we felt it impossible to refuse to gratify your wish, and hereby grant it to you, hoping that, under your authority, the worship of this invincible defender of the Church, may ever be more and more augmented, and that the sight of his hair shirt may suffice to inspire in the hearts of the faithful the sentiments of a salutary compunction.

Receiving with all possible gratitude the testimony of your affection, we beg you to believe, that for our part we are, with the most profound respect, of your august Senate

the most humble and obedient servants,

F. L. LATTAIGNANT,

Prior of St. Victor's of Paris, etc., etc.

When the institution of this feast of St. Thomas was first mooted, one of our Fathers, who did not like the idea of such a new departure, took certain steps to frustrate it. But one night, be it in dream or in vision, he saw the Saint threatening him if he should dare to oppose what was to be done in his honour, and so he gave up troubling Brother Thomas for the future. Another time, while Brother Thomas was preparing to celebrate this feast, and was praying most fervently for the conversion of unbelievers, and especially for his own relations, of whom he had had no news whatever for over five years, there appeared to him during the night our Blessed Father Founder [the Blessed John Leonardi], who told him to be of good cheer, for he would soon see some fruit of his tears in the person of a nephew, who had just disembarked at Leghorn; and without more words he disappeared.

The good Religious was filled with heavenly consolation, and was equally anxious to see the result of this promise, when lo, on the very day following the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, he received notice from Messrs. Benassai and Gamborini that one of his nephews, named Thomas, had just landed at Leghorn, and that he was very anxious to see him.

Our good Brother was filled with joy at this news, and setting out at once for Leghorn, he welcomed this dear nephew with the greatest tenderness and jubilation. He brought him back in triumph to Lucca, and in a few days so won his heart, that he readily drank in the precepts of the true faith, and

conceived a great love for it. At the same time, having discovered the perils and the blindness of heresy, he took so great an aversion to it, that he promptly abjured the sect in which he had been brought up, and embraced the Catholic religion.

So fervent a zeal was enkindled in the young man's heart for the propagation of this holy faith, that when King James III., the legitimate heir to the crown, made an attempt to win his throne, he left Lucca and went to enrol himself under the banner of his Majesty in Ireland.

Here it pleased our Lord soon to reward his piety, for during an assault, he lost the temporal life which he had offered up in sacrifice for his faith, and in exchange received, as we may piously hope, eternal life in Heaven.

Patience, which had been the favourite virtue of Brother Thomas during his whole religious life, took a new vigour when God, in order to augment his merit and prepare him for a holy and a wonderful death, willed that he should be tormented with the pains of the stone. His Superiors wished, in their discretion, to dispense him from his more fatiguing duties, but he chose to persevere up to the very end, in his office of porter, on the pretext that his disease required movement and not repose.

Many times when he called our Fathers with his bell, some of them being a little deaf or much occupied, would not reply. Then he would mount all the stairs, though it cost him the greatest possible suffering, and he would search all over the house till he found them, and would then inform them (but always with the greatest respect and with cap in hand), that they were wanted at the door. And thus he would have to mount the lofty staircase many and many a time in the day, and often it would happen that the exertion brought on the sharp attacks and spasms of his cruel disease. Many nights he would spend without once closing his eyes on account of the fearful pain he suffered; and often he would be compelled to go out into the open air to give vent to his suffering in cries and groans of anguish, and these attacks would end in vomiting, so that he could retain nothing in his stomach. A life, which was rather a painful and continuous death, could not last a long time. In fact he was found one morning dead in his room, clad only in his shirt. He was kneeling at his *prie-dieu*, before the sacred pictures of the Crucifix and the Blessed Virgin, with his hands joined and folded together. His aspect was not changed, and

he appeared to be absorbed in prayer, with closed eyes, according to his wont. Father Berti bears witness to having seen him thus, with many others, who ran to look at him, and were not able to understand how it was that he had not fallen to the ground.

He passed away in the Lord on January 2nd, in the year 1713.

The news of so marvellous a death, which had all the signs of being that of the just, drew to our church almost the whole city of Lucca. Everyone wanted to have the consolation of seeing Brother Thomas for the last time, and of recommending himself more particularly to his intercession. After some years the body was found incorrupt, which much increased the veneration in which this great servant of God was held.

Here endeth the life of the English lay-Brother who brought the hair-shirt of St. Thomas the Martyr to the city of Lucca.

DOM BEDE CAMM, O.S.B.

## *Rus in Urbe.*

### XIV. NATURE THE INDOMITABLE.

As we all know, nature, though driven out with a pitchfork, is wont to come back again ; and if we did not know it, we might find a striking example of this truth actually exhibited under our own eyes. In the very heart of London, between Holborn and the Strand, the demolition of a notorious slum has left bare and hitherto unoccupied a piece of ground, bordering on Kingsway and Aldwych, which might well seem to be as hopelessly denaturalized as any spot of earth could possibly be. Its surface is strewn with the unsightly remnants of ancient tenements, its soil, as barren and soured as can be imagined, is littered with fragments of plaster, crushed asphalt and broken bricks, and other such litter as may fittingly be bequeathed by the ancient purlieus of Holywell Street.

Yet although the time during which this tract has been left to itself is as yet very brief, for the new thoroughfares were opened only in 1905, the period whilst speculators have delayed to sink money in investments which must needs be costly has been long enough to give an opportunity to the goddess Flora of which she has been quick to avail herself. She has accordingly poured her hosts into this no-man's land, occupying it in such force as to astonish and attract the notice of even the casual wayfarer, and to suggest speculations as to what would happen if our busy and teeming metropolis could be left wholly deserted and uninhabited for even ten or twenty years. How far, within such a period, would nature succeed in coming by her own again ? Certainly, after the lapse of a few centuries, while it is certain that vegetation would be sure to overwhelm the remains of the city like a deluge, it can hardly be thought that modern architecture would succeed in leaving amid the flood so enduring a monument as is afforded by the ruins of Paestum and Palmyra.

To confine ourselves, however, to the present, an extremely

interesting account of what has actually taken place is furnished, amongst others, by a writer in the *Times*,<sup>1</sup> who has been at some pains to make himself master of details.

Most conspicuous amongst the invading army is the Rose-bay, or French Willow—doubtless originally a garden escape, but of so pushing a nature as to have established itself as a wild plant in many situations. Here it has planted itself in such profusion as to bloom in purple masses. A notable growth, too, is the Spear-thistle, although the area which it has succeeded in occupying is more restricted, but there it is thickly sown. So, too, is the Yellow Hedge-Mustard. Dandelions and Sowthistles are naturally abundant—and they are supported by a miscellaneous array—Corn Camomile, Oxeye-daisy, Blue Succory, Bladder-campion, Dock, Wormwood, Groundsel, Hawkweed, Ragwort, Coltsfoot, Cornflower, Knapweed, Plantain, Knotgrass, Shepherd's-purse, and, perhaps most wonderful of all, Bracken-fern. There are, moreover, to say nothing of wheat, oats, barley, and various grasses, sundry plants that belong not to the fields but the garden or orchard. Many seedling apple and cherry-trees spring up each season, and there are also found Sun-flowers, Evening-primroses, Marigolds, Foxgloves, Mignonette, Poppies of various kinds, and notably the pink and white Russian Balsam, which, playing a prominent part in the combined operations, necessarily suggests many points for consideration, and above all that with which we have been familiarized in connection with flies in amber—namely, how ever did it get there?

This at once introduces, and in some degree helps to illustrate, a matter to which Mr. Darwin devoted much attention, and in regard of which he well exemplified his genius for natural research. Setting himself to inquire by what means the dispersal of seeds could be effected, so as to result in the geographical distribution of plants which actually obtains, he indicated many which are both curious and interesting as exhibiting the extraordinary and unexpected relationships which may be discovered between all the parts of nature's machinery.

To begin with, the great vehicle of propagation is the wind. Many seeds, as we all know, are provided with appendages which make them so buoyant as to be carried long distances by even a very moderate breeze. To show on how large a

<sup>1</sup> October 22, 1909.



scale this means of carriage may operate, Mr. Wallace cites an instance when at Shanghai, in the spring of 1856 the air was so full of plumose seeds of the poplar or willow that they obscured the sun like a white fog, evidently filling the atmosphere to a very great height. Other seeds can travel by water, having an outer coat which preserves them from injury if immersion be not unduly prolonged. Those who, like anglers, have much acquaintance with the banks of streams must have noticed how frequently what are manifestly garden escapes are to be found growing there; a very notable example being the American *Mimulus*, which has taken so kindly to another hemisphere that it is found blooming profusely in so unexpected a region as the Vale of Glencoe. Amid tropical luxuriance even more remarkable instances are to be found, as, to take but one typical case, "Dauntless Island" in the mouth of the Essequibo River, being created by the wreck of a schooner from which it is named, has grown from the sand and mud accumulated about the obstruction, and the vegetation so supplied and supported, till now it is some miles in length and a mass of trees and shrubs.

Another great instrument for dispersal are birds, which frequently devour the outer and attractive portion of a fruit, but cannot digest the seeds which they bear away in their crop or gizzard to be sown elsewhere. Some plants, like the mistletoe, appear to be wholly dependent upon this mode of propagation, and in other cases we have evidence to show how effective it may be. Thus a well-known American plum is called the "wild-goose" plum, because a plum-stone from which the whole race has been raised was found in the stomach of such a bird, which, considering its wandering habits may have travelled far since eating the fruit of which this was the product. The original tree apparently has not yet been ascertained. Fresh-water fish, too, Mr. Darwin believed, might contribute to the dispersal, for they are known to eat many seeds of both land and water plants, and in their turn are frequently devoured by birds and mammals, and so may easily serve the purpose. Even insects, such as locusts, apparently do the same. In the case of a familiar wilding—the Greater Celandine—botanists of high standing are of opinion that the plant has travelled to this country from its original habitat, Siberia, chiefly through the agency of ants, which carry off the fruit into their holes but do not eat the seeds, which consequently germinate.

Nor is it only in this manner that birds, and in a lesser degree four-footed animals, can act as carriers, for many seeds bear hooks, grapnels, or the like, by which they frequently cling to feathers or fur, and so are transported from one situation to another. Another means of carriage, which might be still less expected, is furnished by the earth sometimes adhering to the legs of birds. On that attached to the limb of a partridge, Darwin found seeds which, three years afterwards, produced eighty-two plants of various species. He tells us that such migratory birds as wagtails, wheatears, and whinchats, have been found on arrival from abroad, to have brought with them similar consignments,—though, of course, on a lesser scale.

Another great mode of transportation must have been provided—especially in the past, during the Glacial Epoch—by icebergs, and to a lesser extent by driftwood.

All these various modes of dispersion cannot, it is evident, have helped to colonize our London waste. The most important of them all, the wind, may, indeed, account for the presence of some of the plants to be found there, as the willow-herb, thistle, sow-thistle, dandelion, and groundsel, being furnished with feathery parachutes, to keep their seeds in the air, may easily have been borne from Streatham and Sydenham, or other districts still farther afield, perhaps obtaining a lift from railway trains on which they might chance to settle, and thus drawing on the resources of civilization. For the other agents which have been enumerated, there seems in the present case to be little or no opportunity. Neither water-carriage, nor icebergs, would appear to be available for the purpose, while the only bird frequenting the spot, namely, the London sparrow, can hardly be supposed to have afforded any practical assistance.

But, such auxiliaries being excluded, another comes in, namely, human agency, which has without doubt, contributed in various modes to the actual result. One habitual wayfarer has indeed explained that for some years it has been his habit to scatter packets of seed in the neighbourhood of which we are speaking, and others near it, and amongst the plants which he has thus helped to propagate he names some of those already mentioned, the presence of which might seem most difficult to account for—mignonette, giant sunflowers, marigolds, mixed poppies, and nasturtiums. The seedling apples and cherries, it is suggested with much probability, may be explained by the pleasant habits of the human boy, who having regaled himself

in summer time with a bag of fruit, will often chuck away the pips or stones across the hoardings or palisades which border the way. On a larger scale, much may doubtless be explained by the vicinity of Covent Garden Market. From the carts and waggons making their way in its direction, seed has doubtless escaped at one time or other to reproduce its kind. What has been mentioned as perhaps the most puzzling growth of all—the wild bracken—is probably to be accounted for by the use of fern for packing fruit consigned to the market.

Yet, when all is said, it must be confessed that a good deal of mystery still remains, for there are plants which while they seem to be devoid of all means for securing means of transport for themselves, are not very likely to have been intentionally propagated like those mentioned above. One of these is the balsam already spoken of, which is probably not found nearer its new habitat than St. James' Park or the Embankment. The seeds are quite smooth and destitute of any apparatus which might entangle them in the plumage of birds or the coats of dogs, and although, justifying its scientific title of *impatiens*, the seed vessels are accustomed to curl violently up, and discharge their contents like a shower of miniature grape-shot, they cannot thus have been transported to such a distance; while it does not seem probable that anyone would have procured seeds of such a plant to distribute amongst waste places. Still less likelihood is there of such help having been provided for the dissemination of insignificant weeds like Shepherd's-purse, knotgrass, and plantain which if eaten by birds would perish in the operation, and of which we can only say that there they are and will probably remain, till with the rest of their company they have, some of these days, to give place to a crop of bricks and mortar.

RURICOLA.

## *A Birthday Gift to the Sons of St. Francis.*<sup>1</sup>

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ALTHOUGH, as Father Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., has recently shown, the question of the precise date at which St. Francis obtained the verbal approbation of Innocent III. for the Institute he contemplated is wrapped in much obscurity, still we can assert with every probability that this approbation was not given earlier than April, 1209, or later than the close of 1210.<sup>2</sup> Even if the latter be the true year of the Papal recognition of the Rule, it is known that the Saint had gathered his first followers around him twelve months before this event, and so the various branches of the great Franciscan family have ample justification for celebrating, as they have done, in this present year the seventh centenary of the foundation of the Order. That they have had in these rejoicings the hearty sympathy of the whole Catholic body and of all the other religious Institutes of the Church need hardly be insisted upon. The wonderful revival of interest in the character and work of the Poor Man of Assisi, which during the last half-century has spread, not merely among devout Catholics, but among the cultured of every creed, forms perhaps one of the most remarkable religious phenomena of our day. These old-world leanings, in such an age as ours, are certainly matter for congratulation, and we can only hope that the close study of the ascetical ideal of the Church, as evidenced in the life of St. Francis, may spread further and lead to a clearer understanding of the part which Catholicism has played in the regeneration of mankind.

But hand in hand with the veneration of the great Apostle of Poverty, there has also grown up in our own times, perhaps by way of reaction, an almost fanatical desire to vilify the religion of the Middle Ages, and in particular to assail the morality of the monks and friars who professed to be its

<sup>1</sup> *The Scottish Grey Friars*. By W. Moir Bryce. 2 vols. royal 8vo. Edinburgh, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, April, 1909, pp. 181—196.

spiritual guides. It is perhaps well for scholarship that there should exist amongst us a caste of historical scavengers, like the late Dr. H. C. Lea and Mr. G. G. Coulton, who are willing to spend their literary lives contentedly over the manure heap, and who persuade themselves that by assiduously raking together all that is ignoble they are discharging a duty to society. No one who is at all acquainted with mediæval records will feel disposed to deny that terrible corruptions prevailed at almost every period, and that the ranks of the Religious Orders passed through the ordeal by no means unscathed. In particular the Grey Friars, who probably outnumbered the rest, or at any rate were more in evidence, were exposed, by the very nature of their vocation, to quite exceptional temptations. Undoubtedly their ideals suffered, and it is no marvel that in an age before the Jesuits had appeared upon the scene to attract to themselves the largest share of obloquy, the Franciscans or Cordeliers, as they were also called, should often have been singled out as special objects of attack. For one extern writer who has dwelt upon the good done by the Franciscans in the declining Middle Ages by their missions, their hospices in the Holy Land, their *monti di pietà*, and numberless other works of charity, there have been a dozen who have echoed the satires of Wyclif and his followers, and have treated the begging friar of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a very parable of idleness and debauchery.

It is easy, of course, to make these accusations. It is easy to justify them in a measure, by an appeal to the scandalous stories which in all ages are prone to circulate at the expense of those who make a profession of piety. No doubt there was often plenty of foundation, but whereas in the case of the detected misdemeanour of knight or scholar, merchant or even cleric, the story was suffered to lie, for the incident was too commonplace to make it worth anyone's while to give it currency, it was far otherwise, when the delinquent was a Religious. Then the tale became a savoury bit of gossip, which circulated from mouth to mouth with mediæval recklessness and exaggeration; while no thought of giving scandal to professors of a rival creed came in in those days to check men's wagging tongues. Such evidence, then, seems to us of comparatively little weight, even though it be recorded by high-placed ecclesiastics or men of eminent piety, for often it happened that their information was but second-hand, and their purpose

to point a moral. There is no more reason, we conceive, to put unconditional faith in all the stories we read of scandalous friars, than there is to accept as history all the miracles and revelations, the apparitions of the devil, and the supernatural portents of all kinds which are equally abundant in the same class of literature. So far as possible, it is necessary to get back to the records, and though these are few and difficult to appraise, it is upon them rather than upon promiscuous gossip or the denunciations of malevolent Reformers, that our estimate of the mendicant Orders ought to be based.

For this reason we welcome with peculiar satisfaction the publication of a work on the Scottish Grey Friars whose appearance synchronizes most happily with the celebration of the Franciscan seventh centenary. Mr. W. Moir Bryce has clearly devoted himself to this work as a labour of love, giving the first place in his thought to the facts of history, so far as the diligent examination of records can disclose them, but retaining throughout a kindly human sympathy for the subjects of his monograph. Mr. Bryce is not a Catholic,<sup>1</sup> neither does he write in ignorance of the works of such writers as Mr. Coulton and Dr. H. C. Lea,<sup>2</sup> but he is, on the other hand, a scholar who is evidently thoroughly at home with historical documents, printing many valuable records of the Order for the first time, and showing a wide acquaintance with the vast Franciscan literature which has grown up in recent years. The verdict of such a student upon the work of the Friars Minor in Scotland is obviously a matter of much interest and at the present juncture when every effort seems to be made to present the history of the Religious Orders in the most lurid light, it is satisfactory to be able to quote this impartial witness as dissenting unequivocally from the denunciations of the Reformers and their modern imitators. Mr. Bryce is far too careful a scholar to indulge in indiscriminate panegyric. He fully recognizes, as all honest inquirers must do, that there goes on in every institution which depends upon human effort, a certain process of degeneration, capable if suffered to continue unchecked, of resulting in the most deplorable excesses. But he also does not shut his eyes to the effects of many revivifying influences, introduced by the honest desire to effect a reform and to bring

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 484, where Mr. Bryce speaks of "that symbolism which finds so small a place in our Presbyterian creed."

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, the notes on p. 112 and p. 129 of vol. i.

back the careless and relaxed Religious to the standard of the Rule. Without following Mr. Bryce in his careful and detailed history of each of the Franciscan establishments in Scotland both Conventual and Observant, or in his general summary of the causes which led to the recognition of the Observantine branch of the Order in the middle of the fifteenth century as a separate organization, it will be interesting to note some of the conclusions to which he has been led by many years of study given to all available materials, manuscript and printed, which could illustrate his subject. And in the first place we may note that his reply to the assailants who more than any others have strived to prejudice Scottish public opinion against the friars, we mean George Buchanan and Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, is unequivocal and overwhelming. Let us begin with the latter authority, who, as our author points out, both by reason of the gravity of the charge and the personality of the accuser has probably done more than any other man to create a bad impression of the Scottish Franciscans in the minds of his countrymen at the present day. In his learned work entitled *Jus Feudale* completed in 1603, but only published in 1655, Sir Thomas Craig writes :

Concerning the Friars Minor, there is no question ; professing indeed a simulated piety, they had no lands or estates, but they became very rich by interfering with wills under pretext of piety and from a zeal born of a silly piety. This was discovered after the unfortunate battle of Flodden ; for those who were leaving to fight were threatened with every kind of evil unless they made confession to and received absolution from the Friars Minor. Notwithstanding, they entrusted to them all their money, muniments, and everything of value they possessed, expecting that if they fell, those to whom they were entrusting them in all good faith would restore them to their children. But these, instead of responding to the trust reposed in them, applied the goods of those who fell in battle to the purchase of land and the construction of a church and monastery for the men of their Order. And the same thing happened at the battle of Pinkie.<sup>1</sup>

It is a matter for much regret that most of the charges levelled against the Religious Orders are not as definite as this. Mr. Bryce has had no difficulty in making short work of an accusation which could so readily be tested. As he points out, we can make an exact list of all the Franciscan houses which existed in Scotland in the sixteenth century. So far as the

<sup>1</sup> Craig, *Jus Feudale*, p. 122 (Ed. 1722).



Conventuals are concerned, the latest friary belonging to this branch of the Order was founded at Kirkcudbright in 1455—1456, which is more than half a century before the battle of Flodden. We are forced to fall back, therefore, upon the Observantines, who did erect one, and only one, friary, that of Jedburgh, in the course of the sixteenth century. The Papal Bull authorizing this was issued in January, 1522, consequently the statement of Sir Thomas Craig, so far as regards the battle of Pinkie, which took place in 1547, must be an absolute fabrication. But it is practically certain, as Mr. Bryce shows by an almost needlessly patient piece of demonstration, that the story is equally unveracious in its reference to the battle of Flodden. It is impossible to conceive that the Friars could have annexed landed property committed to their charge without arousing protest on the part of the heirs of the deceased, a protest of which there is no trace. Moreover, we find that there is not a single instance in which the Observantines are known to have possessed annual rents from private lands at the time when the friars were driven out, though we have definite record of their sources of income in every case except Jedburgh. As the result of a most painstaking study of all available means of information regarding the resources of the Franciscans, aided by a comparison with the possessions of the Dominicans and other Mendicants,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bryce has come to the conclusion that not even in the case of the Scottish Conventuals, but much less among the Observants, do we come across any trace of substantial relaxation in the matter of poverty. For example, he says:

The Friary in Dundee [Conventual] sheltered a community of at least thirteen members, at the end of the fifteenth century; and in view of its inadequate endowments their dependence on casual charity is only too evident, whether in the shape of food, of clothing fashioned by the needle of devout women or paid for out of the royal exchequer, of offerings given at the daily Masses which occupied the brethren of Dundee until noon, or of legacies which were indiscriminately represented by gifts of money, books and victual. The "Bishop's Charity," which amounted to the sum of four or eight pounds annually to the brethren of Ayr [Observant], was a source of revenue beyond reproach; so that in the last resort, the Franciscans were essentially the poor clergy of the Roman Church both in land and endowments.

<sup>1</sup> The results are tabulated in Vol. I. p. 140, and a number of hitherto unprinted documents are published entire in the first part of Vol. II.

Their services were voluntary and they depended upon voluntary support. The degree of this support exasperated the Reformers because it buttressed the strongest bulwark of the Church in Scotland, and for three and a half centuries it has been the fashion to point the finger of scorn at the Grey Friars as men of wealth sheltering behind the hypocritical cloak of poverty. Professor Brewer [in *Monumenta Franciscana* vol. 1] has aptly remarked that their sphere of work was envied by no other Churchman. Absolute poverty was the dream of an idealist, but the resources of the wealthiest friary in Scotland will stand the test of the severest examination from the absolute or the comparative point of view, if we have knowledge of fact, and for one instant apply the canons of historical criticism to the fabric of prejudice that has been reared upon *ex parte* statements.<sup>1</sup>

A few figures taken from Mr. Bryce's tables, and compiled by him from the *Exchequer Rolls*, the *Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices*, and a number of other official sources, may serve to set the matter in a clearer light. The Dominican Friars had twelve houses in Scotland, the Franciscan Conventuals seven, the Observantines nine. We will take the three most important houses in each group.

	Annual Rents.	Victual from Private Lands.		Crown Pension.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
<i>Dominicans :</i>					
Edinburgh . . .	313 14 2	22 12 8	6 13 4		
Aberdeen . . .	105 0 4	39 0 0	17 6 8		
Perth . . . . .	68 4 0	50 4 0	33 6 8		
<i>Conventuals :</i>					
Dundee . . . . .	54 7 3	16 0 0	19 18 4		
Dumfries . . . .	43 12 0	nil	27 13 4		
Haddington . . .	48 9 0	nil	13 6 8		
<i>Observantines :</i>					
Edinburgh . . . .	nil	nil	20 0 0		
St. Andrews . . .	nil	nil	5 0 0		
Perth . . . . .	nil	nil	5 0 0		

The Observants, besides these Crown pensions in money, also received a certain quantity of wheat, barley, and beer, partly from the Crown, partly in the form of a municipal allowance; but it must be abundantly clear that in these Franciscan

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i. p. 137.

resources there was very little to tempt the spoiler. On the other hand, it was the Franciscans, and in particular the Observantines, who from the time of their first arrival in Edinburgh in 1447 were especially dear both to the Scottish royal family and to the clergy.

The interest of the Scottish clergy in Franciscanism [says Mr. Bryce again], may be said to date from the foundation of the first Observantine<sup>1</sup> friary in Edinburgh, and the most striking feature of the Order . . . is the continued support accorded to these friars by the more enlightened members of the Roman hierarchy. The reason is ready to hand. As the active missionaries of the large towns the Observantines became the yeomen of the Church, eager to enhance its prestige by their evangelical activity in the parish, and to protect its fair name by a rigid observance of their vows. The friar was ever ready to answer the call of the sick or moribund burgher. Friary discipline imposed aloofness upon him. Hence "on days other than holy days," whenever the friars were observed in the streets of the town, the people exclaimed in astonishment, "the friars are going out; someone is dying." Within the friary no intercourse or meals with laymen were allowed, but on his journeys the friar was a favoured guest. . . . Incidental to the possibility of attaining the ideal religious life amid these favouring conditions, *esprit de corps*, born of a friendly rivalry with the other Orders, no doubt strengthened Observantine discipline during a century that was marked by a gradual decline in ecclesiastical morality and scholarship. Nevertheless, it may be claimed on the part of the Scottish Observantine, that his loyalty to the spirit of the Rule, to the tripartite vow of poverty, obedience and chastity, and in the last resort to his Church, constitutes one of the brightest pages in the history of Roman Catholicism in this country.<sup>2</sup>

Considering the spiritual decadence which we are taught to connect with this period, an age in which Dr. Lea assures us that nothing but the forms of religion remained, all this is wonderful enough. It is easy to understand how the scholar who has worked out his facts by patient and minute study of the original records, should repudiate with indignation such an accusation as that of Craig, and that he should consider that the grain of truth, if ever any existed, "cannot now be separated from the prejudice and exaggeration of his indictment." Hence our author goes on :

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bryce throughout his work prints the word *Observantine*. We have taken the liberty in our quotations from his pages to adhere to what seems to us the more usual spelling.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 263.

The sixteen friaries in Scotland [*i.e.*, the Conventuals and Observantines taken together] were the product of voluntary support, and their maintenance depended entirely upon the continuance of that support. The annual rents in their possession did not produce an income of £10 for each friary; and, were the legacies which they received from laymen many times more valuable and numerous than they can now be ascertained to have been, the Order would still have remained the poorest of the great brotherhoods in the pre-Reformation Church in this country.<sup>1</sup>

But what is to be said of the charge of profligacy and license which forms the main theme of Buchanan's satirical poem *Franciscanus*? For quite a large school of modern writers the truth of these charges is too self-evident to make it worth while to discuss them. "The corruption of the Franciscan Order is a commonplace of history," says a critic in a recent important University publication.<sup>2</sup> Here again, as it seems to us, Mr. Moir Bryce has shown a true appreciation of the situation in his line of defence. To produce evidence to prove that no Franciscans were ever profligate or hypocritical is from the very nature of things impossible. But it is an easy task to show that the accuser, who is pre-eminently identified with these charges, was himself mendacious, vindictive, and grossly careless of verisimilitude in a number of matters in which his accuracy can be tested. What we have already learnt from Mr. Bryce, together with the data supplied by existing architectural remains, sufficiently warn us how much we are to believe when Buchanan in his sonorous Latin diatribes speaks of the friars as associated with "temples grand and stately mansions," with "the cloud-capt temple and the lofty fane," "the majestic spire," or "the palaces which almost reach the sky," in which also "they crammed their paunches and swilled the sparkling wine." So, too, the friar is depicted "in full robes and gorgeous vesture drest," possessing "rich domains" and "never resting until he has cast aside the cowl and twisted cord for the regal mitre and imperial pride."<sup>3</sup> Hardly less convincing is our author's comparison of the three

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *George Buchanan—Glasgow Quartercentenary Studies*, p. 200. Glasgow, 1900. Substantially the same view is maintained by Professor J. Herkless in another University publication, *George Buchanan, a Memorial*, St. Andrews, 1907, pp. 53—59. This gentleman's apology for Buchanan's tone in his *Franciscanus* is singularly ill-informed, and of itself quite inconclusive.

<sup>3</sup> Bryce, i. p. 115. He points out that from 1231 to 1560, only one Grey Friar was elevated to a bishopric in Scotland.

separate accounts given by Buchanan at different times of the circumstances under which the satire was composed. One of these accounts is derived from certain recently published records of the Lisbon Inquisition by which Buchanan was examined in 1551 and very mercifully treated.<sup>1</sup> No doubt he never expected that his statements there made in durance vile would some day see the light, but we possess them now and we are able to detect that in several points they cannot be reconciled with assertions afterwards made in his Preface to *Franciscanus* and in his History. Long ago students of his works must have learned that his own standards of virtue were far from exalted, and an admirer of the humanist is compelled to own that "his verses are open to the censure of a license not excusable in a censor of the morals of the clergy."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bryce, then, seems thoroughly justified when he says of Buchanan's satire:

In reality *Franciscanus* is a deliberate travesty of historical fact. It originated in feelings of revenge. It is replete with statements capable of immediate disproof. Its end is achieved by misrepresentation, and its dedication is a lasting memorial to its author's inventive genius. In only one instance is the advocate for the defence compelled to appeal for credence on the ground of the monstrosity of the charge. The awful account of the immorality of the friars, of the education which they received in the arts of seduction, of the manner in which they . . . ridded themselves of a mistress who had ceased to please and of the revenge which they were bidden to take upon a maid who resisted their advances, must be left to the belief or disbelief of the reader.<sup>3</sup>

As our author goes on to point out, referring in particular to Abbot Gasquet and Father Pollen, the prevalence of immorality in the Church before the Reformation is now frankly recognized by writers of every shade of opinion, and it would be idle to contend "that the Franciscan vow of chastity was preserved unsullied merely because no instance of moral depravity can now be adduced." None the less Mr. Bryce rightly appeals

<sup>1</sup> The process has been published entire in *O Archivo historico portuguez*, 1906, pp. 241—281, and partially in a monograph by Senhor G. Henriques, 1906.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, vii. 187. The same writer suggests with much probability that when Milton in his *Lycidas* asks

Were it not better done, as others use,  
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade  
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?

he is alluding to Buchanan. Both Amaryllis and Neæra are names that appear prominently in two of Buchanan's poems. One of them, which is very licentious, is in fact entitled *Neæra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* i. p. 112.

to the weight of negative evidence as rendering any sweeping accusation of corruption such as that brought by Buchanan utterly improbable. There was, he points out, no love lost between the friars and John Knox, or even between them and the satirist, Sir David Lindsay. None the less, both the one and the other Reformer, while freely attacking the friars for their superstition, their idolatry and other supposed defects, give us no inkling of that sort of widespread debauchery which is made so prominent by Buchanan. So far as Lindsay bears witness at all it is to the fact that the Franciscans formed the great spiritual influence of his day. For example he says:

Was nocht the precheing of the begging freris,  
Tynt [lost] was the faith among the secularis.

Or again:

Devotioun is fled unto the Freris,

Or again:

Als, God has lent to tham sic graces  
That bishops puts them in their places  
Outthrow their dioceis to preiche.

Moreover, there can be no question that the Grey Friars, and more especially the Observantines, enjoyed a large measure of popular favour, and were thoroughly trusted by high and low.<sup>1</sup> When, upon the death of James V. and the appointment of the Earl of Arran to the Regency, the Reformers in 1543 became actively aggressive and attempted to sack the Observantine friary in Edinburgh, the burghers of the city rose in its defence.<sup>2</sup> Even though the same determined attitude of sympathy was not displayed everywhere—it seems to have been notably less in the case of the Conventuals at Dundee—there is plenty of evidence that the Friars generally had a hold upon the hearts of the people. If they were often the first object of attack, this is probably to be interpreted, as Mr. Bryce points out, as a tribute to the universal feeling that they were the backbone of the party loyal to Rome. Moreover, the moral integrity of the Observantines received its most conclusive attestation in their behaviour when finally their way of life was proscribed in Scotland, and they had to meet the alternative of conformity or exile. No sensual-minded ecclesiastic of the

<sup>1</sup> For example, the letter of commendation of James IV. in 1507 is certainly no mere formal document. (Bryce, ii. p. 277.)

<sup>2</sup> See Bryce, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 81, 281.

type depicted by Buchanan, that is to say, no man whose religious profession was a mere mask, would face opprobrium, exile, and hardship when the way of apostasy was easy and provision secure. Yet, as Mr. Bryce points out, the Observantines remained true to their faith almost without exception. The Scottish Observantine Province at the close of 1559, when they were forcibly dispossessed of their friaries, seems to have numbered something over eighty members. They decided to seek a refuge abroad, and all but two or three sailed for the Netherlands in the summer of 1560. The two or three dissentients, though they at first remained loyal to Catholicism and exercised their priestly functions in hiding, fell away in the end, for as Father Hay tells us in his precious narrative, under stress of daily anti-Catholic example, and "lured by the blandishments of the world, they at length joined the rebellious heretics." But this was a very different record from that of either the Franciscan Conventuals or the Dominicans. Of the latter, says Mr. Bryce, "at least thirty-five abjured Roman Catholicism, including the Provincial, John Grierson, and the Priors of Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen, Perth, Elgin or Inverness, and Wigton. John Law, Sub-Prior of the Glasgow Dominicans, also recanted and received the usual pension."<sup>1</sup> As for the Conventuals, they do not seem to have numbered more than thirty at the close of 1559. "Sixteen or seventeen recanted, including their Provincial and four out of the seven Guardians. Three, if not four Guardians, accepted office in the new Church."<sup>2</sup> As in England, this last-mentioned circumstance throws a flood of light upon the sincerity of Reformers' denunciation of the Friars. As long as these Religious remained true to the Faith in which they had been born and in which they had bound themselves by solemn vows, they were continually satirized by their opponents as both dissolute and ignorant. The moment that they yielded to pressure and were content to renounce their allegiance to Rome, they suddenly became men worthy of all respect for their learning and probity, while not the slightest scruple was manifested about advancing them to responsible cures in the religious system to which they conformed.

But there is yet another indication throwing light upon the moral character of the Friars to which Mr. Bryce rightly

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 157, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 158.



attaches a very high importance. This is the evidence of sixteenth century wills, and more particularly of those executed by high-placed ecclesiastics. Here again our author speaks, not at random and from vague generalities, but from a minute and first-hand study of the original records. He sums up the position admirably thus :

Considering the high repute which the Observantines enjoyed, it is not surprising to find that they received a much larger share of testamentary charity than the Conventuals. But in criticizing these bequests, it is only just that the personality of the donors should be considered. The clergy, we may presume, were beyond the influence of a "zeal born of silly piety."<sup>1</sup> They were in a position to appreciate the value of the work done by the friars, and were not to be coerced into purchasing absolution or exteme unction from a friar priest, as Buchanan expressly asserts and Craig implies was the custom at the deathbed of a layman. Midway between the clergy and the laity were the members of the Third Order, less independent than the Churchmen it is true ; but their testamentary bequests merely accorded with their deliberate sympathies during life. They correspond to-day to the parishioner or church-member who takes an active interest in the affairs of his church, and contributes to its revenues in a greater or less degree. Keeping these distinctions in view, the forty-one legacies traced to the nine Observantine friaries<sup>2</sup> show that the bequests of the Churchmen amounted to £181 13s. 4d., four bolls of malt, two stones of cheese, and some books ; while the laity contributed £191 15s., one load eight bolls of wheat, two bolls of barley and eight bolls of meal. Thus the testamentary charity of the clergy was an exact counterpart of the liberal support which they gave to the friary in yearly alms during their lifetime. May it not be accepted as a striking testimony to a prevalent belief in the *bona fides* of the friar, and a practical recognition of the value of his work ?<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, though the Observantines were the recipients of the larger share of such benefactions, especially at so late a date as 1539, the same line of argument does also speak strongly in favour of the Conventuals. In England where the distinction between Conventuals and Observantines was perhaps less emphasized than in the sister kingdom,<sup>4</sup> the legacies to the Friars were

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to the phrase of Sir Thomas Craig occurring in the passage quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bryce's figures are based upon the only accessible fragments "of the Registers of Testaments of the three dioceses (Dunblane, Glasgow, and St. Andrews) which lend themselves to critical examination after the year 1539."

<sup>3</sup> Bryce, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> See Howlett, *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii. p. xxiii.

abundant even to the end, although there undoubtedly was some falling off in the sixteenth century. An analysis of a large number of wills of persons belonging to the humbler classes of society as preserved in the registers of the Norwich Consistory Court "shows that at a time when the Grey Friars were falling out of favour every third will conveyed a gift to them;"<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Howlett discriminatingly points out that many of these wills are those of parish priests who did not allow any feeling of rivalry to prevent them from bestowing their money where they believed that it would most profit their souls. The same inference might be deduced, if perhaps somewhat less overwhelmingly, from the Somerset wills, published by Mr. Weaver,<sup>2</sup> and from a number of other collections of English mediæval testamentary dispositions which have recently been made accessible in print. As Dr. Augustus Jessopp concisely says: "to the last the wills of the clergy were full of legacies to the preaching friars,"<sup>3</sup> and by "the preaching friars" he does not mean to limit the appellation to the Dominicans only; but it was true of them, and this is the more interesting because in their case there was no distinction among different branches of the Order analogous to that which separated the Conventuals from the Observantines among the Franciscans.

As the final outcome, then, of a study of Mr. Bryce's most painstaking and valuable researches, we are led to reaffirm for Scotland the conclusion which the writer just mentioned has laid down in the case of England with characteristic incisiveness. We wish that we could as heartily endorse all the summary judgments contained in Dr. Jessopp's *Penny History of the Church of England*, as we can his verdict upon the work of the Friars:

Differing somewhat in their several Rules, the two Orders of Dominicans and Franciscans were at one in their great aim, namely, in showing an example of unworldliness of life, and in preaching the Gospel of Christ "without charge" to the poorest and the lowliest. They lived literally upon alms. They sought no gain in money: they asked only for their daily bread from those to whom they offered their ministrations. They were most earnest itinerant preachers, living on the very poorest fare, clothed in a single coarse garment or "habit," resolutely refusing to own houses and lands. . . . For more than three

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Franciscana*, ii. p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Somerset Mediæval Wills*, edited by J. W. Weaver for the Somerset Record Society, 3 vols.

<sup>3</sup> Jessopp, *Before the Great Pillage*, p. 118.

hundred years the Mendicant Friars in England were, on the whole, a power for good up and down the land, the friends of the poor, and the evangelizers of the masses. During all that long time they were supported only by the voluntary offerings of the people at large—just as the hospitals for the sick and the incurable are supported now; and when they were driven out of their houses, and their churches were looted in common with those of the monks and nuns, the Friars had no broad acres and no manors, no *real property*, to seize, and very little was gained by the spoiling of their goods; but inasmuch as they were at all times the most devoted servants and subjects of the Pope of Rome, they had to go at last, when King Henry VIII. had made up his mind to be ruler over his own kingdom, and to be supreme head over State and Church.<sup>1</sup>

This is the judgment of robust common sense, and it offers, like Mr. Bryce's sumptuous work, a refreshing contrast to the atrabilious censoriousness of such a writer as Mr. G. G. Coulton. Degeneration undoubtedly there was. It is possible that at one period or another, or in one locality or another, this degeneration went to the length of extreme moral decay. But the Franciscan Order, nevertheless, contained within itself, in the sublime ideal bequeathed to it by its founder, a vivifying principle which was constantly manifested in fresh efforts to get back to a high standard of apostolic perfection. Even so unfriendly a writer as Principal T. M. Lindsay, the panegyrist of Luther, bears witness to the leaven which was working in the Catholic Church, at the close of the fifteenth century, long before Luther appeared upon the scene. While holding that the secular clergy and the Monastic Orders seemed as a whole content to remain in their state of decadence,

It was different, however [he says], with the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Mendicant Augustinians. These begging Friars reformed themselves strenuously in the mediæval sense of reformation. They went back to their old lives of mortifying the flesh, of devoting themselves to works of practical benevolence and of self-denying activity. As a consequence, they, and not the parish clergy, had become the trusted religious leaders of the people. . . . These turned for the consolations of religion to the poor-living, hard-working Franciscans and Augustinian Eremites who listened to their confessions and spoke comfortingly to their souls, who taught the children and said Masses without taking fees.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jessopp, *Penny History of the Church of England*, S.P.C.K. (Ed. 1908), p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. p. 106.

We have not found room to speak of the account given by Mr. Bryce of the sphere of action of the Scottish Grey Friars and of the details of their daily lives. The subject is an interesting one, and our author has bestowed upon it the same minute attention which he has devoted to the other aspects of his subject, but the materials, as we might expect, are regrettably scanty, and we must be content to point out that his investigation of such details has not led him to modify in any respect the thoroughly sympathetic appreciation which he professes throughout for the work of the Grey Friars in the kingdom north of the Tweed.

HERBERT THURSTON.

## *Our Grandmother the State.*

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THE condition of our grandmother the State, in these latter days, is calculated to inspire her loving grandchildren with some anxiety. Her disposition seems somewhat feverish: she evinces a longing for new fashions inconsistent with her years, and a disregard for past traditions surprising in one of her experience. Time was when our grandmother left us very much to ourselves and shrank from interfering with us. If she could keep us from openly robbing and murdering each other, she was content, and she allowed, under plea of law or in default of law, all sorts of cruel oppression of the weak by the strong, and of the good by the wicked. She was cruel enough herself when she did take action, for she thought much more of the punishment of crime than of the amelioration of the criminal. Indeed, she considered, to judge by her penal code, the best sort of criminal to be a dead criminal; he did not occupy useful room or involve useless expenditure. But gradually, under the stimulus of philanthropists who had truer notions of liberty than her previous guides, the individualist philosophers, the conscience of our grandmother was awakened: she realized that it was her duty and her interest to prevent crime as well as to punish it, and even more, to remove from the sanction of the law those various forms of iniquity which man—*homo homini lupus*—in his lust for private gain, was inflicting on his fellow-citizens. And so the State entered on that series of directive and preventive legislation of which we have not yet seen the term. Unrestricted liberty had brought all sorts of disaster: she would now see how far Acts of Parliament would go to make her children moral. The question naturally arises, has arisen indeed, some while back, whether in her proper and wholly commendable anxiety to remove the various sources of social evil, our remorseful grandmother is not tending to go to the other extreme and to interfere too much with us. It is not an easy thing to hit the golden mean between law and liberty, to give, that is, the

individual just so much help and protection as will not impair his natural development as a responsible self-determining human being. It is a problem which confronts not only the State, but also the head of the family in regard to his dependants, the teacher in regard to the scholar, the Church in regard to her children—nay, with all reverence be it spoken, the Providence and Grace of God in regard to every human conscience. To the solution of this delicate problem, however, it would seem that the State, under the stimulus aforesaid, is advancing with an eager and tumultuous energy, which ill accords with its delicacy and is calculated to cause the judicious observer some concern. Where will it all end? he may ask. Will the sphere of rightful action be overpassed? Has it perchance been already overpassed? And—most important question of all—what *are* the limits of helpful interference?

Now, without pretending to subject recent Governmental action, administrative or legislative, to detailed discussion, we may perhaps profitably consider this last question in the light of Christian revelation with a view to determining at what point State interference becomes really grandmotherly and, by ignoring their best interests and infringing rights both higher and more fundamental than her own, injures rather than benefits her subjects. Our grandmother's unmistakable earnestness and activity in these times force this consideration on us. She will go to sleep no more: the days of Individualism are done: we have seen the end of *laissez-faire*: under pressure of crying needs and with the encouragement of past success, the State will continue to take action, and it behoves all right-thinking people, especially those who claim to possess in their Faith the cure of such of the world's woes as are not irremediable, to do their utmost to direct that action into the proper channels—and to keep it there. Misdirected zeal may work even worse evils than inaction, and the unenlightened conscience, going forth to labour, may be a terrible obstacle to the real advance of good. Our grandmother at this particular crisis does not lack for counsellors: rather, she is like to be deafened and bewildered by the discordant clamour of their advice. And she labours under the additional disadvantage of imagining that everything depends on herself. Officially she has no thought or cognizance of another moral agency, far more effective than her own legislation, an agency which reaches, to direct and purify, the heart and conscience of men, which checks evil at

its source, which heals and comforts where it cannot prevent—in short, she has no notion, no adequate idea, of the functions of the Church of God. She is somewhat in the position of one who should attempt to solve mathematical problems by arithmetic alone, wholly ignorant of the wider range, and more compendious methods of algebra. Arithmetical processes, no doubt, are sound and will carry her some way but, in very charity, we must teach our grandmother the higher and more effective science. And so, although we cannot hope to out-shout those around her, we should do at least what little we can, and that is, to reiterate *importune, opportune*, from pulpit, press, and platform, the Church's social doctrines, trusting that, in some pause of the clamour, our grandmother may come to hear of them and may find them commended by their intrinsic reasonableness, if not by the source whence they spring.

We shall probably best arrive at a notion of the proper limits of State activity by considering the origin and the purpose of the State. The State, then, is simply the community organized for self-government. That there should be communities in this sense, separate and independent groupings of the human race, is, as far as history and experience (as distinct from mere "evolutionist" conjecture) can tell us, a fundamental law of nature. And that men should live in community seems an even more fundamental law than that mankind should be grouped into several societies. It is, at least conceivable that the whole race should ultimately be one in government, but no civilization or progress can be imagined possible if men were forced by nature to dwell on the earth in single isolation, or at most in separate families. As a member of God's family man is essentially a social being, needing contact and intercourse with his brother-men to attain his due natural development. And with regard to the distinction of communities, as a matter of fact many causes, geographical, linguistic, economic, and the like, have always been at work to divide the societies of men into more or less independent nations. Given, then, these independent communities as a natural condition of human existence and progress, it was equally essential that they should each possess, collectively, authority over their constituent elements, or else there could have been no principle of cohesion amongst them. In every single complete organization there must be a single supreme source of power, otherwise there is no bond of union between the diverse functions. Accordingly, the principle of



civil authority is as directly due to the Creator of the social being, man, as is the formation of separate States itself. But He has left it to the members of such States to determine for themselves in what hands the authority shall reside and how it shall be exercised. Republicanism no more than monarchy can claim divine right. Hence, St. Paul, when setting forth the theory of civil obedience for the benefit of the disciples at Rome,<sup>1</sup> takes care to mention no specific form of government: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," he says, "for there is no power but from God." Hence the State claims our allegiance, not primarily as representing the collective will of the community, but as representing the divine authority, and so, in obeying its commands, we do not in any way violate our essential human dignity and freedom. To this extent are we all radically equal, that no man, or group of men, can claim control over our wills save by God's ordinance and design. This is the truth that makes us really free.

Recognizing, then, that the State is from God and so has a just claim to our homage and love, and that its authority has also the divine sanction as an essential principle of its organic constitution, we may further inquire why such organized communities should have been necessary. Revelation makes answer—the State is necessary, if for no other reason, then in consequence of the Fall of Man. Fallen unregenerate man is essentially self-regarding, and needs tuition to make him recognize the rights of others, and coercion to prevent him from violating them. If man were what Rousseau and some modern Socialists proclaim him to be, a being essentially upright and law-abiding and reasonable, only forced into wrong-doing by unnatural surroundings, we may allow that an organized coercive civil authority would be superfluous. Families would have joined together, no doubt, for mutual assistance, but they would have been so enlightened, so altruistic, so scrupulously regardful of each other's rights and interests, that no cause of friction could have arisen. Each man would know exactly how far his own particular advantage could be pursued without detriment to his neighbour or to the common welfare, and each would spontaneously make that knowledge the rule of his conduct. All titles to honour, obedience and emolument would be freely and fully acknowledged. The proportion and harmony established by each individual between all the powers of his complex person-

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xiii. 1—7.

ality would be perfectly reflected in the social order. But we have no guarantee that even unfallen man would have realized this socialistic ideal. Where intelligence is limited, there may be inculpable conflict of wills, and some authority to decide such disputes would seem to be necessary even in a sinless humanity. Father Joseph Rickaby well explains the Catholic view in the following passage :

And even if we had all remained as void of guile, and as full of light and love, as our first parents were at their creation, we should still have needed the erection of States. In a State there are not only criminal but civil courts, where it is not wicked men alone who come to be litigants. From sundry passages of Scripture it would appear that even angels may disagree as to what is best and proper: angelic men certainly may and do. It is a mistake to look upon civil government, with its apparatus of laws and judgments, simply as a necessary evil and remedy of the perverseness of mankind. On the contrary, were all men virtuous, States would still be formed, towering in magnitude above the States known to history as the cedars of Lebanon above the scanty growths of a fell-side in our north country.<sup>1</sup>

All the more imperative, then, taking things as they are, is the formation of States amongst men. So long as man is not fully acquainted with his duty and so long as his natural self-love is not completely under the guidance of reason, we must surely allow that external authority is necessary. It is to supply these natural defects that the authority latent in the community is organized into power, legislative, coercive and executive, and that the whole body is knit together by the bond of rule. Each man has to be taught to extend his regard beyond himself as an individual to himself as a member of society, and it is the community's business to teach him. Pure individualism is essentially anarchic and unnatural, the cause of the first sin and of all that have followed.

The first function, then, of the State is so to control its members in the exercise of their rights and the pursuit of their interests, that they may not unduly interfere with one another. It exists primarily for the benefit of the individual. Some interference, some loss of liberty and abandonment of claims, there plainly must be, but it should not in any case proceed so far as to hinder the due development of each man's personality and the substantial fulfilment of his destiny. And its second main function is to promote the general felicity by subordinating all

<sup>1</sup> *Moral Philosophy*, p. 314.

prosecution of purely private advantage in the temporal order to that end. So that the State may be said to exact from the individual, as the price of its protection of his claims and rights, the sacrifice of some proportion of those rights to itself. But such sacrifice is not really complete and is amply rewarded. What a man loses as an individual he gains as a citizen, for the common good—the peace and prosperity of the community—is also the good of each member.

It is at this point that the question we began with, viz., Is there any limit, of degree or kind, to the sacrifices the State may exact from its members in return for the benefits it confers? may best receive its answer. We cannot doubt that there are limits both natural and supernatural, which vary to some extent with conditions of time and place, but which can in general be stated with sufficient certainty. In case of a hostile invasion, for instance, the community may demand from its members an entire sacrifice of external goods and the risk, at least, of losing liberty or life, but such exactions under normal circumstances would obviously be intolerable. The peace and order produced in an emergency by martial law would be too dearly purchased if such law were made permanent. Speaking, then, broadly the State cannot with justice place its members habitually under such conditions—slavery, for instance, or enforced ignorance or insecurity of property or damage to health—as would prevent them from living a normal human life. Nor can it rightly interfere with the proper constitution of the family, usurping parental duties, for example, or legalizing violations of the marriage-bond. These are some natural limitations to its power. But still less may it ignore those which are supernatural, which concern man's eternal destiny and his relations with his Maker. God's service must come before even that of the State: all civil laws are void which conflict with the moral law and, in purely religious matters, with the positive laws of that institution which God has appointed to guard the moral law. Everywhere and always it is beyond the State's commission to dictate to conscience, or to prevent the due enlightenment of conscience by the knowledge of revelation.

Our grandmother is rightly concerned that we should all have such a modicum of education as will enable us duly to perform our functions in the commonwealth. It is her duty and her interest to see to this. But when she excludes religion from her school-curriculum, or relegates it to a secondary place,

or penalizes those that desire it, she is violating the rights, not only of the child, but of the God who made him and of the parents who are his natural guardians. For she is treating the child as if he were only a citizen and had no other rights or duties save those involved in membership of the State. May the abominations of *l'école laïque*, as established in France, and the *escuela moderna*, as suppressed in Spain, have the effect of opening her eyes to what "secular" education means! *Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.*

Our grandmother too is properly interested in all that makes for the physical and material well-being of her flock. That again is her business—to remove as far as possible from their lives and surroundings all influences, such as bad housing, excessive toil and inducements to intemperance, detrimental to health and indirectly to morality. But to make no distinction in framing laws against these evils, between culpable and inculpable destitution is surely to confound virtue and vice and to render sin less obnoxious by depriving it of its natural penalties.<sup>1</sup>

Consideration of the divinely-imposed checks on State absolutism which brings in question of the relations between State and Church, a question which will be continually agitated till both come to an end with the end of all things. Final harmony between them can result only from the prevalence of one or other view of their relations—the Catholic or non-Catholic. The non-Catholic view is that the State is absolutely supreme within its own borders, in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil—a contention aptly enough designated as "Cæsarism," because it is in effect a lapse into the old Pagan notion of the divine absolutism of the Roman Emperor. The Catholic view is that the Church was established precisely to destroy Cæsarism, to vindicate human liberty, and to bring home to the consciousness of States as well as of individuals the supreme rights and claims of Almighty God. State and Church have in the main separate, though not opposed, spheres of action; if ever they do come in conflict (as distinct from contact), it is because one or other is exceeding its scope. If Christianity had not been established, the inhabitants of the world, split up into a number

<sup>1</sup> Everyone is heartily in favour of Poor Law Reform: still the projects advanced for preventing destitution must be carefully examined lest they should prevent more good than evil, *sc.* by destroying parental responsibility and thus breaking up the family, by discouraging the voluntary exercises of charity based on religious motives, and by obscuring the fact that no moral reformation can be perfect or permanent which is not based upon religion.

of autonomous nations with opposing ambitions and interests, would have been in danger of forgetting their common origin and their common destiny, the existence, that is, of bonds more fundamental and permanent than any influences which kept them apart. But the setting-up of the world-wide, wholly-spiritual kingdom of the Church has emphasized the fact that there is more to unite than to divide the races of men, those children of a common Father, meant finally to share the same eternal Home. Neither view, as a matter of historical fact, has ever been universally accepted. Approaches have been made for a short time or in a limited area to the divine ideal, in which both Church and State were left free to decide matters belonging to their own spheres, and in which, where the spheres intersected, the Church had still full liberty of action. But its realization is apparently as difficult to attain as the harmony between nature and grace in the individual. Man's records, since the introduction of Christianity, form one long account of the conflict between the two theories, the false and the true. Cæsar can ill brook a rival power which limits his own in so many ways, and reminds him of an account to be rendered to a Higher Power, whilst the human element in the Church has not seldom tried to extend unduly the spiritual prerogative. But before the Reformation the theory, at any rate, of a divine universal Church, supreme in its own sphere and independent of the State, was commonly accepted. The disruption of Christendom in the sixteenth century and the establishment of national dependent Churches over a large part of Europe, is thus largely a return to pre-Christian conditions and Pagan ideals. When religion became local and national, when the Church was looked on as merely a department of the State, there could no longer be that appeal to the public conscience of Christendom, which was so effective a check on secular absolutism. In many civilized communities "Cæsar," the civil authority, no longer recognizes a divinely-established authority, co-ordinate with, and in some regards superior to, his own. Ignoring the claims of the Church, he tends, as a natural consequence, to ignore the rights of the family and the individual. The Church has safeguarded the institution of the family by teaching that the matrimonial contract is a sacrament, and that Christian marriage is one and indissoluble. The State attacks the family by making marriage merely a civil contract, rescindible under certain conditions.

The Church teaches that the main factor in the training of the young must be the imparting to them of the facts of revelation and the moulding of their characters by the knowledge and love of God. The non-Catholic State tends more and more to set this factor aside and to make education secular, that is, practically atheistic.

This, then, is the fact that we Catholics have to face here in England. Our grandmother the State has lost her faith: in rejecting the guidance and inspiration of the universal Church she has rejected God's remedy for the ills of mankind; she has put the supernatural out of her counsels. The House of Commons, indeed, still pays a chaplain and opens its daily sessions with prayer, but the function is merely regarded as conveniently marking the time after which members cannot reserve a seat. There is little corporate Christianity left in our Government. Many years ago Ruskin, in his vehement fashion, commented on the phenomenon—

Notably [he says<sup>1</sup>], within the last hundred years, all religion has perished from the practically active national mind of France and England. No statesman in the Senate of either country would dare to use a sentence out of their acceptedly divine revelation as having now a literal authority over them for their guidance, or even a suggestive wisdom for their contemplation. England especially has cast her Bible full in the face of her former God, and proclaimed with open challenge to Him her resolved worship of His declared enemy, Mammon.

Ruskin here refers to public disregard of Bible-teaching—a disregard not wholly to be wondered at in a land where the Bible has been taken out of the hands of its living guardian and interpreter. But thirty years earlier still, a keener and still more religious mind, and a no less eloquent pen, had pointed out the marked absence of a corporate sense of religion in English public life.

So little is religion [says J. H. Newman<sup>2</sup>] even the profession of the world at present that men who do feel its claims dare not avow their feelings,—they dare not recommend measures of whatever sort on religious grounds. If they defend a measure publicly, or use persuasion in private, they are obliged to conceal or put aside the motives which one should hope do govern them, and they allege others inferior, nay, worldly reasons,—reasons drawn from policy, or expedience, or common sense (as it is called), or prudence.

<sup>1</sup> *Aratra Pentelici*, ii. § 52 (1872).

<sup>2</sup> *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*: VIII. "The Church and the World."

. . . Or, again, take any of the plans and systems now in fashion,—plans for the well-being of the poor, or of the young, or of the community at large: you will find so far from their being built on religion, religion is actually in the way; it is an encumbrance. The advocates and promoters of these plans confess that they do not know what to do with religion: their plans work very well but for religion: religion suggests difficulties which cannot be got over.

Matters, to say the least of it, have not improved since 1842. Our grandmother has not since "got religion," nor is she likely to, unless she bows herself to accept it through the divinely-appointed channel. It is little mitigation of our misfortune that many European States are in even worse case, that the Church is being actively persecuted in other lands; not, as hitherto, in favour of some imaginary purer form of Christianity, but in hatred and denial of Christianity itself. Whether the irreligious elements existing in every community will ever grow strong enough in England to seize the reins of power is a problem which no human foresight can solve. We can never confidently foretell the religious future, because the most effective factor in its development is precisely that which is least known to us, —the will and purpose of Almighty God.

A general survey of history would seem to indicate that a complete triumph of Christianity cannot be hoped for. The fortunes of the Church have ever reproduced the career of her Founder. As He in His day, so she now is declared to be unpatriotic, to be immoral and subversive of law, to be a danger to the State, to be in league with Satan—and she is constantly being tried and condemned on these and the like false charges. The struggle may well be regarded as ceaseless, for in essence it springs from that revolt against the supernatural destiny of man, which began in Eden. "Better to reign on earth than serve in Heaven" has always been the foolish cry of the natural man,—foolish, because it assumes the right and the ability to reign anywhere save through the Divine permission. And the Church on her side cannot give in: she must fulfil, through good success or evil, the object of her institution. "Virtue is made perfect through infirmity" in the body as well as in the individual. Providence, indeed, if we may reverently so put it, has always been confronted with this dilemma. On the one hand, the conversion of the entire human race is what the Church was made for—clearly a thing most desirable; on the other such a complete triumph of Christianity would deprive its



adherents of credit for belonging to it. For were it so widespread, were governments and big battalions everywhere on its side, were the Church always held in honour and allowed its due place and influence, then membership would involve no sacrifice and be little proof of sincerity. There are dangers, as well as advantages, in living in a wholly Catholic country; dangers lest faith should be "notional" yet not real, and that practice should spring from mere convention and routine. From these dangers we, in God's providence, have been freed here in England, where the profession of true Catholicity is always more or less a hindrance to worldly prosperity.

Still, it is our duty, as we have seen, to try to bring our grandmother back to the Faith. The wicked man is allowed to exist, St. Augustine reminds us, not only for the trial of the good, but with a view to his own ultimate conversion;<sup>1</sup> and the same is true of the heretic, who himself may perhaps be a good man, and certainly can be made a better. Whilst acknowledging the stimulus given to our profession of Catholicity by the Protestantism around us, and whilst gladly putting up with the scorn of the modern *esprits forts* as a small price to pay for the privileges we possess, we must do our best to make Christian principles prevail in public life. This is the function of the believer. Now, how, under modern conditions, are we to teach our grandmother the State? Not, clearly, by expository lectures to the House of Lords or sermons to the Cabinet. Were the whole Government to become Catholics to-morrow, the only result would be that their constituents would force them to resign on the next day. We must turn to the real ruler of the country, the average multitudinous voter. If the State is to become or to continue Christian it must be by means of a Christian democracy. In proportion as the voter loses sight of the Christian idea, he is in danger of sanctioning projects,—remedies for social evils and the like—which are opposed to it. Such projects are numerous enough, for the evils are there, vast, deep-rooted, clamouring for redress; and the State cannot stop in her efforts for reform. When we think of the condition of affairs at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when England suddenly became a great manufacturing country, and the old social order was completely broken up—the terrible cruelties inflicted on the labouring classes by unrestricted competition, unregulated

<sup>1</sup> In Psal. liv. ad tm.

hours of work, insanitary conditions, child labour, and the virtual enslavement of workhouse orphans<sup>1</sup>—we see how much has been done, in spite of blundering and stumbling and delay, to humanize and, to that extent, Christianize the lot of the majority. But merely a slight acquaintance with modern social and industrial conditions will reveal what an appalling amount still remains to be done before the State can rest from its labours and say: "I have secured the means of right and decent living for all my members."

We must, therefore, help the State as only Christians can, for so desperate and inveterate is the disease that no real or permanent cure can be hoped for except from Christianity. "Christianity," say the Socialists, "has been tried and found wanting; let us apply *our* specific." Has Christianity really been tried? No Catholic can say so. Christianity has not swayed the public mind of England for over three centuries. Fragments of Christianity torn from their foundation, echoes of Christianity from the eloquent past—these have had influence, but not the full-orbed system taught by the Catholic Church, the system which is summed up in the pregnant phrase—"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and all these things shall be added to you," and which is scattered all through Christ's Gospel in the praise accorded to mercy, charity, and unselfishness. The development of a "Social Sense" amongst Catholics has often been the theme of articles in this Review, for its importance is very great, both as regards the well-being of the State menaced by the seductions of non-Christian ideals and also as regards the salvation of the individual, which depends more than many seem to realize on his attitude of practical charity towards his neighbours. It is now beside the mark to plead that we are less than one in twenty of the population, in face of the fact that it was the small and not over-well-organized Catholic body that successfully maintained, during the education struggle of the past four years, the rights both of parents and children against the might of Nonconformity. For we had definite principles and a clear constructive programme. If we had not made our principles known, and shown that they

<sup>1</sup> The State by its factory-laws gradually put an end to these atrocities, which exceed in horror those reported from Central Africa, for they occurred in a country calling itself Christian and civilized. (See the Report of the First Poor Law Commission). We cannot imagine their ever existing had the spirit of pre-Reformation England survived. After all, Individualism in religion has its natural result in Individualism in economics.

were based on the natural law, if we had been content with criticizing and rejecting the proposals made by the State without declaring our own ideals, we should never have succeeded. That, therefore, must be our attitude on all other matters concerning the social betterment of the nation. A clear grasp of Christian principles, a profound knowledge of the evils to be remedied, and a well-considered scheme for the application of the former to the latter—that is what we look for in the Catholic Social Reformer. There are those who are acquainted with the evils, but are vague in their apprehension of the principles: hence we find the sacred name of Catholic unwisely associated sometimes with the ominous term, Socialist. And many, no doubt, who understand the paramount importance of securing for society a Christian basis, are not aware how far it has been undermined by the prevalence of social injustice. To unite knowledge of the evils with knowledge of the means to remedy them should be the aim of every earnest Catholic. The iniquities of "sweated" labour, the vice of intemperance, the "warrens of the poor," the frauds of the drink-traffic, the ineffectiveness of the Poor Law, the curse of casual labour and unemployment, the defective religious education of poor children—these are evils which we have only to open our eyes to see, evils which affect vast numbers of our fellow-citizens, and they all spring from neglect or violation of Christian principles. Happily, with the advent of the Society for Social Study, described in our November issue, the last excuse, that of ignorance of facts and remedies, will be taken away from Catholics, and we may expect the growth of an organized social sense amongst us which will instinctively, as it were, detect the presence of injustice whether committed by the individual or by the community. In pre-Reformation times, in the presence of a State ill-equipped with the means of reform and not wholly alive to its obligations, it was to the Church that men looked for the redress of social grievances, and they never looked in vain. She inspired and gave her sanction to the various trade associations, she established hospitals and relieved the poor. These things in our complex modern civilization she can no longer accomplish, but she can through her devoted children revive and maintain in the community the spirit which prompted her corporal works of mercy. Through her devoted children. It all comes back to the individual. What am I doing to make my Catholicism practical? What use am I making of the

talent of faith entrusted to me? Saving my own soul? No one goes to Heaven alone. Our light, such as it is, must shine before men. We must profess our principles in the Press, on the platform, and in all our intercourse with our fellows, and in this way aim at influencing public opinion. We must show the Socialist that all his hatred of injustice, all his wrath against oppression, all his resentment against abuse of privilege, all his scorn of idle luxury exist pre-eminently amongst Catholics, conjoined with a truer insight into the means of redress and a higher and grander objective. So shall we best serve the community, and prove practically that a good Catholic is necessarily a good citizen, and thus only shall we be able to restrain the excesses to which human Governments are prone when they have practically rejected the principles of Christianity. Nothing can better counteract the well-meant blunders of our Grandmother the State than the wisdom of our Mother the Church.

J. K.

## *The Solitary.*

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THE hamlet clusters on the side of the mountain very near heaven, and very far from the noisy world below. Here there is no noise but the sound of cow-bells and goat-bells, the voices of children singing at their play, and the monastery-bell from above ringing the *Angelus*, calling to Mass, or summoning the monks to prayer.

In the summertime there is the tinkle of the mountain-streams, too, as they run over their pebbles or make miniature waterfalls like children setting up obstacles for the pleasure of jumping over them. But now all is hushed and slumbrous below the veil of snow ; the little streams are frozen hard, even one waterfall was caught by the frost-spirit before it could get down, and there it stands a fairy sheet of ice.

No one lives here but a few very poor people, for the most part wood-cutters and charcoal-burners. They are born, and they live their lives, and they die, within sound of the monastery-bells, and they are content and ask for nothing more. They are poor, but they hardly know it ; there is nothing and no one to bring home to them the contrast between poverty and riches. It is true they have not always enough to eat, but that seems to them the natural order of things ; they would feel bewildered in a world where there was always enough to go round ; careful thrift and economy to them is second nature. There is nothing sordid or lowering in such poverty as theirs. They work hard for very little, and their bones ache with toil when night comes, and both men and women age early, for the burden lies heavily on all. But are there no city slums where the babies age almost before they are born, and where the hearts of men and women ache and break because there is no work to be had—nothing to do but to lounge about, hands in pockets, in the grip of the most deadly fiend of all—enforced idleness? These peasants would die under that yoke much more surely than under their own. They are an industrious folk, and it is

rarely that there is an idler among them. They have the defects of their virtues, of course ; they are prone to avarice and to regard work as the be-all and end-all of life, so that they have but little patience or sympathy with one that dreams and thinks. If anyone wants to do that he ought to be a monk, they say, he has no place in their world. And yet there are many temptations to dreams and thought in the forest and on the heights.

Guiseppe was one who had succumbed to these temptations from his earliest youth. In the great world he would probably have been a poet and have translated his dreams into letters that all could read and love ; but he had never learned to read himself. The good monks keep school for all the children whose parents think it worth while to send them the long climb up the mountain side, up, up to the very top where the monastery stands grim and grey and solid like a part of the mountain itself. And in his day Guiseppe had been duly sent ; but either he loitered on the road and missed school altogether, or he sat on the bench and swung his feet, dreaming, always dreaming, and paying little or no heed to the lessons going on. It had never occurred to him that books contained anything so good and so satisfying as his own dreams, or that dreams could find their way into books. And since he never spoke of his own no one had ever enlightened him. Father Tomaso found him a troublesome pupil, and when he told him so Beppo would strive very hard for a few days to reform and behave better ; but it never lasted long. Nature was too strong for him, and by nature Guiseppe was a dreamer.

That is not to say that he did no work as he grew older. If he had not he must have starved, for in that community, at all events, if a man does not work neither does he eat ; and Guiseppe not only fed and clothed himself, but he had once hoped to have wife and children also to clothe and feed. He had loved bright-eyed Maria with all the passion and ardour of his soul, and had idealized her into the quintessence of all his dreams ; but whether it frightened her to be thus set upon a pedestal and worshipped, or whether it was merely her practical woman's nature rebelling against the high-flown, certain it is that Maria took the very unusual step of breaking her betrothal vows and marrying someone else. It was a deadly blow to Guiseppe. He had wandered into the pine forest, built himself a hut, and there he had lived ever since ; not so much shunning the society

of his fellows as apparently unconscious that they lived. For if any among them sought him out, as at first they had done, or came across him by chance, he was always prompt to answer greetings—always gentle and courteous as of old. His only companion now was the donkey on whose back he conveyed his charcoal to the monastery and sometimes to the nearest town, a long way off, thus winning for himself enough to support his modest needs. When the first wound was healed, or rather in the process of its healing, another love had come to give purpose to his life and support to his isolation—the love of God, whose Perfection he best realized in the created beauty of God's Mother, Mary. This it was that saved the solitary from being an idle misanthrope.

How many times he had seen the forest grow white as it was now—how often the snow had melted to leave behind it a carpet of living colour, Guiseppe could not have told; he had lost all count of time. He only knew that when he took to the forest he had been young and black-haired, and now he was grey and old, though his tall, upright figure showed but little inclination to bend, and his large brown eyes were as clear and as far-looking as ever. As we have said, there was nothing sour or misanthropical about Guiseppe, or the children would not have loved him; and it was a recognized form of holiday in the village for the youngsters to "go and see Beppo." Wonderful stories he told them, too. He had not dreamt in the forest and pondered God's beauty in its loveliness for a lifetime in vain.

How could he be sour or misanthropical when the love of his life—replacing that old love that seemed so far, far away when he remembered it at all—was for our Lady? And yet perhaps I am wrong in saying that that love had replaced the earthly one, for I think the truth is they had at first been inextricably entangled. Never, till he lost his earthly spouse, had Guiseppe been quite clear in himself where his love for the one Maria began and where the other left off. He had always idealized the human love, and now, mingled with the divine, it remained real if faint, the loyalty of a sincere nature towards its first object of homage.

But his heavenly Lady absorbed all his mind, and if he thought of her more under one title than another it was, perhaps, as Our Lady of the Snow. There were many reasons why this should be. First, the chapel of the monastery to which on Sundays and feast-days the villagers—Guiseppe among them—



climbed, was dedicated to Our Lady of the Snow, and there was a wonderful pure marble statue of her left by some rich traveller whom the Fathers had saved from a snowy grave in the pass, and before this image many of his fairest visions had come to him. And then he had a passion for snow. From the moment when the first light flakes fell in the autumn, fluttering down as if they were but trying the place and had no intention of remaining, until in the late spring the last drift vanished before the sun—Guiseppe lived in a world of enchantment—a fantastic world, may be, in which nothing was quite real and yet everything was familiar. Neither use, nor hunger, nor intense cold could ever deter him from standing for hours to gaze at the filmy veil of the small falling snow or the denser sheet of large flakes seeming to make the whole world black by its own intense whiteness. And when the earth—not only his mountain and forest, but all the distant heights and the peaks above them again—glittered white, and the frost-spirit reigned, then Guiseppe rejoiced as one come anew into his inheritance.

He had been cutting wood all the morning, and now the short winter day was closing in, and the sun going down behind yonder distant peak. For a few minutes it shone rosy and red and glittering; and then the light seemed to go out suddenly, and the peak grew dim and grey, until the young moon climbed higher, and then it took on a distance and an aloofness that made it unearthly.

"A Great White Throne," Guiseppe murmured, talking to himself as a solitary will. "That is where they crowned her, the beautiful Mother—*Madre carissima—Madre purissima.*"

His thoughts flowed naturally into the Litany, and he turned homewards repeating it softly. He stood long at his door looking and listening; for there is always much to hear in the forest. The wind was rising, and the trees creaked and swayed, and dead wood crackled and snapped, and the frost hummed and made softest music. He thought there was a sound of harps in the air. "So there should be to-night; there always is. It is the Birth-Night," he said, and stood at his door forgetful of fire and food.

Presently the sky clouded over, the moon was eclipsed behind soft woolly clouds, and it began to snow lightly. "That is as it should be," he said again, and smiled. "Our Lady of the Snow is abroad to-night; she wishes new robes for the Newly-Born."

He went in and lighted a fire on the stones that served him for a hearth.

But to-night he was to share in the Feast at the Midnight Mass, and he would not eat; so he went back to the door. The snow was falling faster now, wreathing and wrapping and unfolding again as the wind willed. He gazed entranced, until it seemed to him that the white folds took on the form of a woman's garments—of a tall gracious figure that came ever nearer, swaying this way and that, but steadily advancing. Then he saw the pale face smiling at him, and the figure held out queenly hands, and Guiseppe bowed his head and crossed his arms on his breast as he did when he went up to the Holy Table. When he looked up the vision was gone, and a chill fell on his loving heart. "Mother, come back!" he cried, so loudly that he startled himself; and then he stopped and listened, for he thought that far away he heard an answering cry. Could it be? Yes, there it was again, so faint, so far. He strained his ears to hearken, but for some moments there was nothing but the swish of the wind and the ringing of the frost. Then nearer came a little shrill, plaintive cry.

"*Madonna mia!*" cried Guiseppe with hushed breath. "It is the Child!"

To him there was but One Child to-night.

Suddenly, while he paused, not knowing which way to look or go, the snow ceased, the moon shone through two heavy banks of cloud; and down the frozen pathway of light there came towards him a little child. Guiseppe fell on his knees, but the toddling thing slipped on the frozen ground and fell with a shrill wail. He sprang up, caught it in his strong arms, and carried it into the house. It was cold—cold and shaking, and it clung to this strong rescuer and sobbed a little, very quietly.

Later Guiseppe climbed to the monastery chapel, his precious burden in his arms wrapped in a sheepskin. The people crowded round him outside in the porch, amazed to see the solitary with a child.

"It is a girl," was all he could say in answer to the women's babble of questions. "Our Lady brought her—Our Lady of the Snow—she is mine, mine."

The Brother Sacristan came out to discover the cause of the clamour, and Guiseppe was taken into the house to tell his

story to the Fathers within. He had none to tell. "Our Lady came—Our Lady of the Snow," was all he could say. "No, she has never come before—like that. Afterwards there was this little one. That is all."

"She belongs to someone in the village—she has perhaps strayed," said a bright-eyed young Father.

"No, there is no child missing—all the women say so. She is our Lady's—and mine," he added.

The little one slept peaceful and warm in the folds of the sheepskin and Guiseppe's strong arms. He refused to put her down or to let any one else handle her. "She is mine," he said.

Clearly it was a miracle, they all agreed, except the young Father, who suggested searching at daybreak a neighbouring village five miles off over the hills to discover if no child were missing thence.

"I ask you," said Guiseppe, "could she walk five miles? and such miles?"

There was nothing to do but to baptize her, the Superior said, in case this should have been neglected. Guiseppe was much inclined to think it superfluous—"Our Lady brought her," he said—but it was done with all due solemnity, and the little one slept meanwhile.

Then they all adjourned to the big white chapel, where, on His altar throne, He whose birth they celebrated brooded over His own and gathered the village, men, women, and children to His outstretched arms. Even at the altar Guiseppe bore his unconscious burden; and he knelt so long afterwards in thanksgiving that the Brother Sacristan was putting out the candles and the people were all gone before he moved. Then he carried her to his Lady's feet and laid her there.

"See, Mother," he said, "she is yours; you brought her. I give her back; but you lend her to me, is it not so? And I will take good care. Until you call for her again, Mother, she is mine."

And the little one, roused, stretched sleepy baby hands to the Mother and then to him. He gathered her closely to his breast, and carried her away to his solitary home.

Next morning two of the Fathers early abroad stumbled across the body of a strange woman not many yards from Guiseppe's hut. She was lying cold and stiff, and nearly covered with the snow which had now ceased to fall.

The mystery was solved, they said, as they carried her to the monastery church; she must have had the child in her arms.

"That is as it may be," Guiseppe said when they told him.  
"But our Lady brought her."

And to him the child remained a gift from the Mother.

EDITH GILBERTSON.

## *Flotsam and Jetsam.*

### **Another Word on the Congo.**

LAST month we expressed a hope that Belgium would speedily realize the whole of her obligations towards the vast mid-African territory of which she took control some fifteen months ago, a hope which in the interval has progressed some way towards fruition. The chief and most pressing obligation is clearly towards the natives who have now become her subjects, for the prime function of government is to promote the good of the governed. All the cruelty, therefore, and oppression which resulted from the previous commercial régime should be recognized and put an end to. We say "recognized," because a frank admission of the evils of the past is a necessary preliminary to their disappearance in the future, but "recognized" of course only so far as such facts are established. Here is the trouble. When accusations of bad faith and corrupt motives have been so freely bandied to and fro, facts are not always easily come by. One has seen long arrays of respectable travellers' testimonies, tending both to prove and to disprove the existence of atrocities. It would seem that the only safe rule under the circumstances is to accept *at least* what the incriminated parties, those whom it most concerns to disprove or to deny the charges, have fully admitted. Whilst making the clearest possible distinction between the past and the present, those who have the interests and the good name of Belgium at heart will only further both by frankly acknowledging what the Belgian Commissioners of 1905 reported, as examined and denounced in the light of Christian principles in Father Vermeersch's *La Question Congolaise*. Patriotism surely does not call for any concealment, still less denial, of those facts. In the first place, the Free State was not then a Belgian colony, and if it had been, history shows us that no colonizing nation, in the past or in the present, is free from the reproach of unjustly exploiting the natives and their territory. The first colonizers are generally men uninfluenced by religious

motives and, once released from the support of civilized public opinion and debauched by irresponsible power, the tiger and the ape in man, be he Belgian or Spaniard or Englishman, is only too prone to break out with terrible results. In North and South America, South Africa, India, Australia—where have we not seen the inferior races pursued with merciless injustice by the superior, unless indeed the missionary gets the start of the soldier and the trader, or is able to hold them in check? Such misdeeds are happily becoming less possible, not perhaps because the public conscience is more sensitive, but because it is far better informed. The public opinion of civilized and Christian nations is beginning to have an effect even in the most isolated parts of the earth.

Accordingly, in so far as it was really based on Christian or humanitarian motives we see nothing to object to in the late Albert Hall meeting,<sup>1</sup> to voice the "Protest of Christian England" against the iniquities to which the Congo blacks have been subjected. We are happily so constituted by our Maker, the God of Justice, that, unless we have in some way warped our moral nature, we spontaneously resent injustice even though it does not affect ourselves. Everybody, therefore, to whom the facts have been brought home, but especially those whose faith inculcates a special regard for the poor, the helpless or the unfortunate, must cry out against oppression and cruelty in whatever quarter. We admit no special sensitiveness on this point in the Nonconformist or Anglican conscience. But there are many reasons why the Church in England, better informed about the acts and intentions of the Belgian authorities, determined to hold aloof from the rest of Christian England in the recent Protest, even at the risk of being accused of condoning injustice for considerations of ecclesiastical policy.

Of these the chief is the fact that Congo Reform is primarily the business of Belgium, and that if Belgium has definitely taken the matter up it is merely impertinent in outsiders to act as if she had not. Now Belgium has taken the matter up, and with such vigour and thoroughness that the bitterest home opponents of the Government profess themselves satisfied. For instance :

Le projet de réformes de M. Renkin est le triomphe de ceux qui depuis des années, ont combattu en Angleterre, aux Etats-Unis et—heureusement—en Belgique, l'affreux système inauguré au Congo par

<sup>1</sup> November 19.

le roi. . . . Rendons hommage à . . . au R. P. Vermeersch, . . . qui tous contribuèrent à éclairer l'opinion publique.

These are the words of Madame Vandervelde, wife of the well-known Socialist deputy, and are published in *La Peuple*,<sup>1</sup> an anti-monarchical organ. Another Liberal, M. L. Huysmans, as reported by the Liberal paper *La Meuse*, thus expresses his conviction that the reforms are meant to be carried out.

It n'est pas permis de douter qu'après avoir pris un engagement aussi solennel devant le pays, le Gouvernement ne réalise pas les réformes qu'il a annoncées.

Testimonies to the like effect might be multiplied, and it is surely out of place for foreigners to find fault with what the vigilant home enemies of the Belgian Government approve. If reform could be accomplished by a stroke of the pen, it would doubtless be better: it is sad to think that abuses are still possible, although much less likely now that justice is being administered by State officials responsible to a watchful Government, before the new era is thoroughly established. But, as we know here in England, constitutional reform moves slowly and although fifteen months is a long interval it may have been none too long for the vast amount of legal and commercial business involved in taking over so large a territory.<sup>2</sup> Existing contracts and concessions cannot be violently upset without wrecking the credit of the new colony to start with.

It would seem then that in so far as they go beyond the demands of their Belgian allies, the English Congo Reformers are not taking a sufficiently wide or well-informed view of the case. On the other hand, let us gladly own that there was nothing in the report of the Albert Hall speeches to take exception to. The speakers dwelt almost entirely on the past, and showed throughout due recollection of the past of English colonization. We have no sympathy, therefore, with the accusations,—of anti-Catholic animus, commercial greed, and what not,—made against them by certain Catholic newspapers. Wholesale imputations of bad motives is always bad policy, not to say always unjust. And now, as regards the present and

<sup>1</sup> No. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, whose zeal in the matter of reform we know to be quite beyond suspicion, unwittingly conveys a false impression by recounting in the *Tablet* for November 20th, a horrible outrage committed on a Catholic catechist as a specimen of "the true state of affairs out there" at present. We are informed on the authority of Père Vermeersch that the outrage happened over three years ago, *i.e.*, long before the annexation.



the future, the sole question is—Is the Government of Belgium really anxious to atone, so far as may be, for that past by taking the best and speediest means to secure their just rights and the real benefits of civilization to its new subjects? For our part, we do not see any reason to doubt it.

J. K.

### **The Low Valley School.**

The troubles of the Catholic School in the Low Valley—a township near Wombwell, in the West Riding of Yorkshire—have frequently been brought before the public in the Catholic and other papers during the last few years. The latest step taken by the Managers has been to address an open letter to Mr. Runciman, to call his personal attention to the extraordinary way in which they have been treated both by the Local Education Authority and by the Board of Education. In this letter the complete history of the incident is given, together with the Resolutions of Protest passed at a public meeting of the Catholics of the Low Valley congregation. The letter has been published and is being widely distributed, as it deserves to be, that the Catholics throughout the country, and other fair-minded people, may be made familiar with this strange deviation from equitable administration. The Managers, however, in thus calling a wider attention to their grievance, are careful to point out that the responsibility rests with the late as well as the present Government, with Sir William Anson, as much as, indeed more than, with Mr. Walter Runciman.

The story is rather complicated, but the following is as clear a statement of its details as we can give. The School was opened (having been accepted as such) as a Public Elementary School, entitled to its Annual Grant from the Treasury, on October 6, 1903. On April 1, 1904, this being the Appointed Day for the West Riding of Yorkshire, it became further entitled to full maintenance by the Local Education Authority, in conformity with the Act of 1902. At that time there was, as indeed there still is, a most insufficient provision of school places in the neighbourhood, owing to the neglect of the Local Education Authority. This led to a number of Protestant children being sent by their parents to the new Catholic School. These the School was bound by Law to take, up to the number for which it was certified; but that number was considerably

exceeded. To meet the overflow, the Trustees entrenched somewhat on the part, under the same roof, which was hitherto reserved for the chapel. The Local Education Authority appears to have objected to this, as amounting to the opening of a new school for which no approval had been received, but the Board of Education gave permission for the extension, to count as such up to June 30, 1904, that is, for three months. The Local Education Authority persisted in its objection, and wrote to that effect to the Board of Education. According to the Director of Education for the West Riding Authority, the Board of Education gave no reply to their letter, a discourtesy for which the School Managers were surely not responsible. Yet on this ground—we know the reputation for fairness the West Riding Council has acquired for itself—the Local Education Authority refused to maintain the School, as under the Act of 1902 they were bound to do, for five months, and thereby the Managers found themselves mulcted of £88 17s. od. This the congregation, consisting of one hundred working-men (and no rich persons whatever), in their attachment to their religion, refunded out of their own pockets, as the only means of keeping their school going—these working-men having quite recently built their schools at the expense of about £10 a head. After keeping them waiting without their money all this time, the Local Education Authority, on September 12th, did begin to maintain them, but even then only from July 1st, thereby leaving three months' maintenance (from April 1st to June 30th) unfurnished. This further instalment the School did not receive till more than a year later, under circumstances to be explained presently.

One would have thought this practice of refusing the labourer his hire was not imitable, but the Board of Education, if we may trust this narrative, thought otherwise. They owed the School the sum of £89 3s. 2d. for grants covering the period from the opening of the School on October 6, 1903, to the Appointed Day, April 1, 1904, when the duty of maintenance passed to the County Council. The sum became payable on June 30, 1904. It was not, however, paid at that date, or till more than a year later, as will be seen. Meanwhile, on July 13, 1904—that is a fortnight after it became payable, and three months and a half after it became due—the Managers received a letter from the Board of Education making certain requirements, the chief of which was that a Hot Water Apparatus—

at a cost of about £50—should be set up in the School; but in this letter no reference was made to the £89 3s. 2d. payable on June 30th previously, but not yet paid.

As much as £141 6s. 8d. being now due to the School, the payment of which they did not conceive could be long delayed, the Managers thought they would let the requirements enjoined on July 13th stand over for a bit. This was, perhaps, imprudent of them; they should have remembered they were negotiating with Brennus: still, it was hard to raise the money from the already drained pockets of the congregation. No money, however, came in from Board or Local Education Authority, nor was attention paid to their remonstrances, or even acknowledgment of their letters made; and so things continued till Christmas Eve, 1904. Then the Board—still making no allusion to the deferred payments—wrote saying that H. M. Inspectors had reported that the requirements of July 13th were not yet fulfilled, and the work must be commenced at once. Other troubles now ensued, and the Corresponding Manager had a long illness during which he was not able to see his letters. On April 13, 1905, he wrote to the Board saying they were willing and anxious to comply with the requirements, but that they were in great financial difficulties through not receiving the large sum of money so long due to them. To this, on April 15th, Mr. Montagu Tabor, on behalf of the Board, wrote back that the money would not be paid till the requirements had been complied with. It was surely an extraordinary reply, seeing that the money in question was due three months before the requirements had been made: besides which, if that was the mind of the Board, why did they not signify it the previous summer. It must be remembered, also, that the Local Education Authority were still keeping back the £52 6s. 8d. due from them.

The Managers at once ordered the goods required by the Board, and gave notice that they had done so, but none the less on May 11, 1905, came another letter from the Board, giving warning that unless the requirements were fulfilled by June 30th the School would be struck off the Annual Grant List. The Managers narrate how they set to work at the Hot Water Apparatus at once, but structural difficulties in the building proved an obstacle. These they represented to the Board, suggesting modifications for its approval, but the Board persisted in its incomprehensible omission to answer their letters. Its

silence was somewhat imprudently taken by the Managers to be a sign that the modifications were accepted, but on June 24th the Board wrote again to say that the improvements required must be commenced by June 30th. This letter arrived when the Corresponding Manager was in Ireland on sick leave, and two days were spent in forwarding it. His reply was that he was then sending the order to the workmen, and that he would have it put up on his return. A difficulty then arose in fixing up the Apparatus before the children's holidays, and this was represented to the Board, but again no reply. It was put up in the holidays, and the fact announced, but none the less on September 11th came a letter from the Board saying that, as the Hot Water Apparatus had "never yet" been put up, the School had been removed from the Grant List. Then at last both Board and London Education Authority paid up the large sums so long overdue. It was too late to obviate the difficulty, but was a virtual acknowledgment that an injustice had been done to the School.

There is more in the pamphlet before us, for there were subsequent attempts to explain to the Board that it had been under a misapprehension, but the invariable answer came back that the Board could not reconsider its decision; and when later under the present Government application was made to have the school taken on again, it was refused on the ground that the Local Education Authority deemed it an unnecessary school—and that although as yet there is a sad want of school provision in the neighbourhood.

Two things will well suggest themselves to those acquainted with this story. (1) That the Board's and the Local Education Authority's conduct is unintelligible from the point of view of common fairness, and even of common business methods. It really looks as if the *contretemps* had arisen through the Board's neglect to attend to its most elementary clerical duties. (2) That the behaviour of the Catholic working men in the Low Valley has been simply splendid, and requires that they should not be left in the lurch but supported by their fellow-Catholics.

S. F. S.

#### **"Rome" and Politics.**

With somewhat too self-conscious magnanimity *The Times* admitted to its columns on last November 6th and 8th two articles from the pen of a prominent French Catholic journalist,

on the religious crisis in France, a crisis which its own correspondent has always consistently treated from an anti-Catholic standpoint. The aim of M. Tavernier's sober and well-documented papers was to show that the anti-Catholic standpoint was in reality anti-Christian or rather anti-Theistic, and he proved by quotations from the utterances of various Republican leaders that, as far as such men could bind their followers, the aim of the dominant party in French politics at present is not merely to repress the alleged excessive influence of the Church but to destroy the Church and, with her, all supernatural religion altogether. *The Times*, commenting in a leader on the articles, cannot deny that M. Tavernier has proved his case but, instead of drawing the natural conclusion that the sympathies of all Christians should be with the oppressed Church and in no way with her enemies, it skilfully confuses the issue in the interest of those enemies by implying that the Church is persecuted not because she is Christian but because she is "political." It is the old old plea of the secularist—religion should keep to its own sphere and not meddle with "politics:" statesmen as such have nothing to do with the other world; God should be served, at most, on one day of the week and the rest kept for the service of man. This is the miserable heritage bequeathed to modern times by the break-up of the concept, in the sixteenth century, of a Church Universal, and the consequent "nationalization" of religion. His belief, being based on his own judgment, became each man's private concern, not to be obtruded unnecessarily on the notice of others. Yet if there is a Creator at all who has revealed Himself by external means to man, He can surely claim man's continual service. In other words, the politician has no right to leave God out of sight in politics, any more than the lawyer or the merchant has in the prosecution of his business. Politics like everything else should be governed by conscience, *i.e.*, by man's knowledge of God's law and his sense of responsibility to it. *The Times*, therefore, is quite right in stating that there is no complete antithesis between religion and politics, but quite wrong in confining the application of its remark to the Roman Catholic religion. Does not the Nonconformist bring his conscience into politics? Nay, does not religion—the arrogant dogmatic religion of the professed atheist—enter into the politics of MM. Viviani, Briand and Jaurès? The claim of these men to interfere with conscience is as direct, though hardly so well-founded, as that of the Church.

To say, then, as *The Times* does, that the Church claims "absolute authority over men's minds—and, therefore, over their actions"—is a misleading and invidious way of stating that rightly-directed conscience should be the supreme arbiter of human thought and conduct. It will be owned that conscience needs training and guidance. Some men are convinced that all the necessary help can be found in the reading of a divinely-inspired book; others are at least equally certain that the assistance they need is to be sought in a divinely-instituted Church, endowed with the requisite prerogatives. Thus the Church's authority—we are speaking of things as they are now—is a moral one, resting on conscientious belief in her claims, and enforced, when necessary, on conscientious believers by moral sanctions. Her claims are operative, only so far as they are recognized. If, then, the religious bearing of certain political projects is doubtful, or if, as is more commonly the case, that bearing is not at all doubtful but clearly injurious to the rights of God and the individual conscience, it is the business of the Church to point out to her children those rights and to denounce their attempted violation. And her children will be guided by her voice, because of their conscientious belief that she speaks in the name of God. To compare this moral guidance to the *mot d'ordre* issued by the Supreme Council of the Freemasons, and to imply that it is even commonly dictated by the pressure of temporal interests, is a simple travesty of the facts. If politics were always in harmony with religion, *i.e.*, always recognized the claims of Almighty God, the Church, the guardian and exponent of those claims, would have no occasion to direct her children's vote. It is because, unfortunately States and statesmen have broken away from God, that "Rome" in the sense explained, must necessarily interfere with "politics."

J. K.

## Reviews.

### I.—BUDDHISM.<sup>1</sup>

THESE chapters were originally lectures delivered at the Institut Catholique of Paris in 1908. They now appear in a somewhat more developed and documented form as the second volume in M. Beauchesne's *Études sur l'histoire de la Religion*. In the present instance stress needs to be laid on the term *Études*, for the author addresses himself not to those who are seeking some elementary knowledge of Buddhism, but to those who have already passed through that stage, and wish to form their minds on the many problems which arise as soon as one penetrates beneath the surface of Buddhist literature. The term "Opinions" which appears in the title also needs to be noted, for it testifies to the hesitations of a scholar whose familiarity with his subject-matter has taught him how unsafe is over-confidence in drawing conclusions.

The very nature [he says] of his sources, and the actual state of Indianist researches, set narrow bounds to [the historian's] ambition. . . Buddhism is not to be found in its entirety in the literature of its monastic communities, and their more or less artificial systems, and yet, with rare exceptions, the inquiry can be based only on their literature and their systems—for it is impossible to trace the evolution of a religion and its worship save in so far as this evolution has been determined by the reflection of schools of thought, or learned ideology. Moreover, the schools themselves are insufficiently known. . . . We can in certain cases seize the systems as they were at a given moment, aided thereto by some theological *summa*, or the work of some celebrated teacher such as Buddhaghosa, Vasubandhu, or Candrakirti, but in many other cases we are reduced to the task of analyzing enormous and heterogeneous compilations, such as those of the Pali canon, or grouping ideas which may appertain to some ill-defined sect, that of the Lokottaravādins for example; or we may interpret the icons and figured representations, as our archaeologists are doing very well. In this way we obtain ingenious observations . . . but questions of origin and development can nowhere find positive solutions. . . . Even when an Indianist has traced, to the satisfaction of his *confrères* and himself, an

<sup>1</sup> *Études sur l'Histoire des Religions*. 2. *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'Histoire de la Dogmatique*. Par L. de la Vallée Poussin, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Paris: Beauchesne. Pp. vii. 420. Price, 4 fr. 1909.



outline of its systems, he has only touched the surface of Buddhist religion. . . . The differences [in the manner of believing and thinking] which among ourselves, and within the limits of orthodoxy, are neither profound nor essential . . . among Buddhists are downright abysses of cleavage, which we are badly placed for sounding. . . . In a word, India, in its religious aspect, is not a country of clear and firm conceptions, but one of subtle, entangled, and unstable analyses; it has few churches, but teems with sects; its periods and its schools have barely any distinctive physiognomy. We can, no doubt, follow some subtle reasoning, isolate three or four of its ideas—ideas which coalesce in terms like *nirvana* or *cunyata* ("void") or *buddha*, compare, distinguish, and classify texts, but these are merely the steps by which we approach the subject, or, let us say, the preliminary planings, in making which we must be careful not to drop the chips, lest the Max Müllers should make too much out of them.

This long quotation from a distinguished student of Buddhism should be a warning to those who are apt to attach undue importance to the facile summaries of the popularizers; it will also prepare others for the difficulty they will experience in following up the delicate threads of the author's reasoning. And this quality of the reasoning must likewise be our excuse for limiting ourselves in the present notice to a general indication of its course. A broad distinction, as is well known, has to be made between the Buddhism of the Little Vehicle and that of the Great Vehicle, as again between these and the Tantric Vehicle, a superstitious and degrading syncretism of Buddhism with Sivaism, witchcraft, and magical rites, borrowed from the surrounding paganism. The Buddhism of the Little Vehicle is the most ancient and orthodox. It is contained chiefly in the *pitakas* of the Pali canon, but whether this canon, which was certainly not committed to writing till long after the death of Gotama, faithfully expresses his doctrine, is by no means certain, though M. de la Vallée Poussin is inclined to think that it is "the surcharged but still recognizable expression of that primitive teaching"—being led to this conclusion chiefly by the internal evidence, namely, that there is discoverable in this canon "a very characteristic way of envisaging the problem of salvation, and a coherent doctrine which can be styled an orthodoxy." In this orthodox Buddhism the distinctive features are that, though there is undoubtedly metempsychosis which continues till the Kharma of the series has been finally extinguished, no soul or permanent principle persists throughout individual life and passes by metempsychosis from one

life to another; that the Buddha Gotama, though he far surpassed all others in the success with which he attained his illumination, and passed direct into Nirvana, was a man only, and in no sense a subject for religious worship; that he was the deliverer of his brethren only inasmuch as he showed them the way and not inasmuch as he could himself deliver them; that Nirvana is not an abode of positive happiness, but simply the final extinction of that desire which is the source of sorrow, and of which the purpose of this life should be to divest oneself.

The Great Vehicle which originated in Northern India about the commencement of the Christian era, and hence some six centuries from the time of Gotama, claimed to improve on the narrowness of the Little Vehicle, and at the same time to rest on a more profound interpretation of the doctrine of Gotama. Under this Vehicle Gotama becomes a god, one of many Buddhas, some of whom preceded him in date, and others came after him; among which latter was Maitreya, the future Buddha predicted by Gotama. Moreover, above Gotama and all the rest, the Buddha Amitabha comes to the fore in the Great Vehicle, and assumes attributes which are distinctly theistic. To him, as also to the others, worship is now offered and supplications are addressed. Again, under this Great Vehicle Nirvana becomes the blessed region in the West over which Amitabha presides, and where the elect pursue their spiritual ascensions in the presence of the great saints. Also, a more altruistic interpretation of the path of virtue is now propounded, according to which the devout are recommended not so much to seek directly their personal deliverance from their Kharma, but rather to sacrifice self for others; and the goal of endeavour is no longer to attain to Arrhatship but to Bodisatship, that is, not to the degree of sanctity which leads to the immediate extinction of the whole Kharma, but to the degree which involves partial extinction of desire for the next metempsychosis with the anticipation of progressive extinction till Buddhahood is reached in the lives to follow afterwards. These are, baldly stated, some of the chief points of difference between the Little and the Great Vehicle, and M. de la Vallée Poussin takes infinite pains to show how the latter, great as is the contradiction between the two, has grown out of the former.

Gotama adopted what we should now call a pragmatist attitude towards his Dhamma or Good Law. Faced, for instance, with the contradiction that, if there were no soul, no

persistent substance to pass from life to life, there could be no metempsychosis, he responded by discouraging the raising of such questions, and by requiring his followers to look only to the practical results that would follow from his method. But it was impossible thus to suppress all speculation on the metaphysics of his doctrine and method; and it was the course of this inevitable speculation which issued eventually in the elaboration of the Great Vehicle.

Even when the Great Vehicle had established itself, it did not succeed in stamping out the Little Vehicle. The two continued often side by side in the same district, though, with the resurrection of Brahmanist supremacy, the observance of the Little Vehicle was mainly confined to Ceylon and Burmah—where it is still maintained, though with an admixture of polytheism among the populace. The observance of the Great Vehicle had its stronghold in the northern parts of India, whence it spread to Tibet, China, and Japan, thus obtaining a far wider extension than its rival. The Buddhism of Tibet, however, underwent a fresh and far-reaching transformation, not without incorporating some Tantric abominations.

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## 2.—THE SCOTTISH GREY FRIARS.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifth article of our present issue, p. 602, the reader will find an account of some of the important conclusions arrived at by Mr. W. Moir Bryce in his admirable work upon the Scottish Franciscans. It will be unnecessary to do more here than to call attention to certain external features of these two very handsome volumes. Mr. Bryce's own narrative—which comprises a sketch of the early history of the Order, a discussion of the position of the Franciscans in Scotland, a detailed account of each of the Scottish foundations, both Conventual and Observantine, a chapter on the Third Order and a summary of the work undertaken by the Friars in Edinburgh, Dundee and other centres—forms a substantial first part numbering five hundred pages. The second volume is occupied entirely by documents, many of them printed for the first time. The most valuable of these are principally of local interest, but the compiler has also re-edited one or two important sources, such as the Aberdeen Obituary, here reproduced in facsimile, and the short historical sketch of the Scottish Franciscans by

<sup>1</sup> By W. Moir Bryce, 2 vols, royal 8vo. Pp. xii, 492, and xii, 405, Edinburgh: William Green and Sons. 1909.

Father John Hay which had been previously printed only in vol. xix. of the *Annales Minorum*. Mr. Bryce now accompanies it with a careful translation. Altogether the whole book forms a most worthy and scholarly monument to the memory of those whose history is recounted therein. The illustrations, which include reproductions of many famous works of art of Franciscan interest, are admirably executed, and the typography throughout is a joy to behold. If we may venture on a criticism it would be that Mr. Bryce's style is perhaps in some places a little stilted and nebulous. We might refer to the second sentence on page 55 as an instance in point. What the writer has to say is in general so sensible and well-considered that we regret that anything should stand in the way of his meaning being readily grasped.

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### 3.—A CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.<sup>1</sup>

The *Christliche Lebensphilosophie* of Father Tilmann Pesch has already met with an appreciative reception both in Germany and France. In spite of its not inconsiderable bulk, its unattractive title, and its rather severe form, the original German work is now in its fifth, if not its sixth edition. If the book is not cordially welcomed by our English public, it will assuredly not be the fault of its present translator, Miss M. C. McLaren. We can say without fear of exaggeration that we have rarely met with a rendering from the German which has seemed to us better executed. No reader could suspect that the book was not originally written in English, and we have often felt almost resentful that Miss McLaren's gift of felicitous expression had not been expended upon some work whose literary form offered her a wider scope. Still, the book before us was well worth translating. It is one of those manuals of spirituality which are in the best sense solid, while the clearness of thought and the abundance of verbal illustration will rescue it, we think, from the reproach of dullness, if the reader is content to take his medicine, as the author no doubt intended it to be taken, in moderate doses assigned to a fixed hour in the programme of each well-ordered day. We should pronounce it to be an admirable book for spiritual reading in public,

<sup>1</sup> *The Christian Philosophy of Life: Reflections on the Truths of Religion.* By Tilmann Pesch, S.J. Translated by M. C. McLaren. London and Edinburgh: Sands and Co. Pp. xiv, 638. Price, 16s. 1909.

particularly in those cases where only a short time is available for the purpose. The author's somewhat sententious style suggests that the truths he lays before us are not to be lightly skimmed over, but to be pondered, and there is a sort of battering-ram force about many of his *dicta* which seems bound to make an impression if time and opportunity are not denied. So far as arrangement goes, these little essays on the great problem of man's relation to the other world are divided into four main sections, corresponding roughly to the four weeks of St. Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*. We shall, however, probably be best able to give an idea of Father Pesch's method and his translator's skill by a short extract. We take it from the chapter headed "The Passion for Knowledge" in the first section of the work :

The inordinate craving to know brings with it a fatal lack of concentration, and in the end profound disillusionment. In Plato's judgment utter ignorance was a lesser evil than confused and ill-assorted knowledge.

He alone is wise who desires knowledge in order that he may the better save his soul.

Set bounds to thy desires, and acknowledge that the finite mind of man may become aware of an existing ocean of reality, but never can contain it. The world teems with mysteries, and the simplest phenomena about us are the most mysterious. Taken at its highest, how insignificant is the sum of our knowledge, how vast the region of the unknowable ! The advance of science can only be compared after all to the growing volume of a spherical body ; every increase seems to develop more points of contact with the unknown beyond.

The typographical execution of the work is in every way creditable to the publisher. It is unfortunate, however, that on the title-page the translator's name is not quite correctly spelt.

#### 4.—THE GOSPELS AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.<sup>1</sup>

It is six years since Dr. Stanton brought out the first volume of his *Gospels as Historical Documents*. That was concerned with "the early use of the Gospels," the present volume is concerned with the Synoptic Gospels, and a volume yet to come will be given to the Gospel of St. John. Six years is not after all too long an interval between the two volumes, for Dr. Stanton is a busy man, and this one volume

<sup>1</sup> Part II. The Synoptic Gospels. By Vincent Henry Stanton, D.D. Price, 10s. net. Pp. xii. 376. Cambridge University Press, 1909.

must have exacted from him much time and labour. Now that it is completed and published, it will be welcomed as an important contribution to the solving of a very interesting problem, one which most students will be glad to have, and none can afford to overlook. Dr. Stanton defends the theory now most generally accepted and, as some would say, established, according to which St. Mark, together with a hypothetical document Q (supposed to be the *λόγια τοῦ κυρίου* referred to by Papias as written by St. Matthew), were the documentary sources from which our First and Third Evangelists constructed their Gospels—Luke perhaps drawing also, for the matter peculiar to himself, from some untraceable third source. That the Gospels of SS. Mark and Luke were really written by these two disciples, he accepts as sufficiently authenticated, but he concludes that St. Matthew the Apostle cannot have been the author of the First Gospel. As regards dates of composition, he thinks St. Mark must have been composed shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, but St. Matthew, and likewise St. Luke, later, probably about 80 or 90 A.D.

Whilst recognizing the merits of this volume, we cannot bring ourselves to think the author's method (which, of course, is not peculiar to himself) to be satisfactory and convincing. That the Synoptic Problem is fascinating, no one can deny, and by all means let our scholars go on working at it, as they do. Their work has led to the final discarding of a number of crude theories which, whilst they were in favour, were declared to have undermined the credibility of the Gospels altogether. Weisse's theory is an infinite improvement on all these, and accords fairly, although not entirely, with the traditional testimony to the authorship of the Synoptic Gospels. Still, it raises some puzzling questions for upholders of this tradition of authorship, and on the other hand shows the same tendency to break up, by postulating further gradations in the evolution of the documents, as worked the ruin of the older theory of Eichhorn. What we are pleading for is that questions of authorship and date should first be settled by reasons of a more objective kind, and that then, within the limits of the settlement, the inter-relations of the Synoptic texts should be investigated. For instance, as to the date of St. Luke which Dr. Stanton assigns approximately to A.D. 80. This he gets by a comparison of St. Mark's and St. Luke's narratives of our Lord's predictions about the destruction of Jerusalem. Luke, he says, adds some definite

details not found in St. Mark (*cf.* Luke xxi. 20, 24, with Mark, xiii. 14), though the latter was his source. Therefore, he concludes, St. Luke must have been led to add these details by his knowledge of what did happen, and so must have written some time after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. But it is not very credible that an honest writer should have perpetrated what in itself we should all allow was a highly improper act of falsification; and, improper or not in him, we might well hesitate to accept his testimony to other matters, if he were capable of it. On the other hand, the old argument—that, St. Luke's Gospel being written before the Acts, and the Acts stopping at the date when St. Paul had been two years at Rome, the two books must both have been written before A.D. 63—though it is passed over unconsidered by Dr. Stanton, is surely an argument of great weight.

To take another instance, Dr. Stanton lays it down as certain that our St. Matthew cannot be a translation from the Hebrew, arguing very forcibly from the nature of the triple text; and then concludes that St. Matthew the Apostle cannot have been the writer of our Greek Gospel, because Papias bears witness that he wrote in Hebrew. Of course if this writer was not St. Matthew—but some unknown person whom a later generation for no very intelligible reasons confounded with him—his Gospel cannot claim the same high authority as an historical document, as Dr. Stanton freely allows. The loss to the Church would be considerable were this true, but on the other hand it should be noticed, though Dr. Stanton does not notice it, that Papias, in the famous fragment where reference is made to St. Mark and St. Matthew, evidently starts from the supposition that a Greek Gospel written by St. Matthew was at that time in the hands of all and universally accepted as his. Is not this a more solid argument to rest on, than that on which Dr. Stanton bases his bit of destructive criticism?

One feature in the volume is an exposition of the reasons for rejecting the theory of an orally preserved text as the common original of the three Synoptics. This also we do not find convincing. It seems to us the author sets up to be destroyed only a very weak and improbable form of this theory. The best form is that which supposes that the Apostles, feeling the necessity from the very first of thoroughly drilling their disciples in the knowledge of the facts of our Lord's Life and His discourses, drew up a *set text* to be learned by the disciples,



and continually repeated. If such a text were preserved orally its language could not but haunt the minds of the Evangelists as they sat down to compose, and so tend to preserve the close agreement between the Synoptic texts, whilst allowing also for the concomitant differences—for to these latter, if the Evangelists wrote freely, the exigencies of their different plans would constrain them. We are not contending that this theory of an Oral Gospel can finally establish itself, but only that Dr. Stanton's criticisms are passed on the weakest form in which it can be conceived.

### 5.—CHINA AND THE CHURCHES.<sup>1</sup>

Although Father Wolferstan entitles his book *The Catholic Church in China*, a very brief examination of its closely-filled pages will suffice to show that the doings of missionaries of every denomination have been regarded by him as falling within the scope of his inquiry. It is, indeed, only to Part III. that this title strictly applies, but Parts I. and II., which are respectively designated "The Chaos of Creeds" and "China and the Christian Nations," are not by any means inferior in interest to the concluding portion of his work, and few readers will be disposed to wish them abbreviated. To indicate the contents and the purpose of the book in one brief sentence would not be easy. It suffers somewhat, it must be confessed, from a lack of unity of design. But two things at once become apparent to any one who dips at all profoundly into its pages; first, that the author has a thorough acquaintance with his subject, and that he must have read very widely and laboriously to have accumulated the immense collection of appreciations which are presented to us in this moderate-sized octavo. Secondly, that he writes with absolute honesty. Over and over again it is plain that his quotation would have been more effective if he had stopped short midway and neglected certain additional particulars which do not so directly favour the view for which he is contending. But it is manifest that Father Wolferstan has had no thought of doctoring his authorities, even where many another writer would not have scrupled, on the plea that the difficulties thus suggested were only misleading, and did not

<sup>1</sup> *The Catholic Church in China*. By W. Bertram Wolferstan, S. J. With a Map. London and Edinburgh: Sands and Co. Pp. xxxviii, 470. Price, 10s. 6d. net. 1909.

touch the substance of the case. We are satisfied, then, that from this and many other indications any unprejudiced critic will do justice to the author's honesty and impartiality. If his conclusions favour the missionary methods of the Catholic Church, it is because the evidence accumulated in his long and patient inquiry speaks with no uncertain voice. The situation created in China by a host of discordant Protestant sects is an impossible one, and if occasionally in Father Wolferstan's pages it is presented to us in a rather humorous aspect, that is not because the author has set out with any intention of mocking the efforts of conscientious and self-sacrificing teachers of other creeds, but simply because he has quoted the evidence in all simplicity as he found it, and the facts speak for themselves. The third part of the volume and the Appendices provide a mass of statistical information about the organization of the Catholic Church in China which is most valuable in itself, and which it would probably be impossible to meet with elsewhere, certainly not in any work of English origin.

So much of the body of the work consists of a complexus of citations—interesting enough in themselves—from a vast array of travellers and specialists, that it is a little difficult to judge of Father Wolferstan's own personality. But here and there, for example in the later chapters and in the Introduction, we come into closer contact with the author, and he often shows himself in a light that makes us regret that his own contributions to the text are comparatively slight. For example, the following passage dealing with the grudging welcome now for the most part accorded to the foreigner by the yellow races, seems to us excellently put. "The experiences of the Chinese," he explains, "at the hands of the European nations do not seem to have produced in the Chinese mind a very favourable impression of that Christianity which those Western nations profess." No wonder, then, that they are not now too eager to welcome the foreigner to their own shores! And he adds:

The lower orders as well have had their lesson in practical Christianity abroad. The Chinese labourer or small tradesman has in most cases been returned without thanks by every country where he had ventured to set his foot. From a political and economical standpoint such inhospitality may possibly be capable of defence, but from that of justice the Celestial may perhaps be excused when he fails to receive the European as a man and a brother, who in the West received him as the "Heathen Chinese"—and made haste to eject him.

The feature in Father Wolferstan's volume which attracts us least is the "Preface." It does not seem to be in any way required, seeing that an "Introduction" of twelve pages follows immediately after, and it appears to strike a pronouncedly controversial note which is really foreign to the tone of the rest of the book. If a second edition of *The Catholic Church in China* should be called for, and we are convinced that this ought to be and will be the case, we would suggest it as a point for the author's consideration whether it would not be wise to cancel the "Preface" altogether, or to replace it by something briefer and less argumentative.

## 6.—THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAS.<sup>1</sup>

The *Ascension of Isaias* is the third instalment of M. François Martin's Studies of the "Old Testament apocrypha," and has M. Tisserand, Professor at the Apollinaria, for its author. It is on the same lines as the two preceding instalments, and furnishes in one compact volume the materials needed for ascertaining what is known and thought up to date about this curious document. In the ultimate form in which it has come down to us the *Ascension of Isaias* is divisible into two easily separable parts. Of these the former, called the *Martyrdom of Isaias*, begins by recording how King Ezechias in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, called to him his son Manasse, and, in the presence of Isaias and his son Yosab, gave him a book of revelations which he himself and the prophet Isaias had received from God. Whilst he was doing this Isaias further predicted that after his father's death Manasse would apostatize and persecute the servants of God, and that he himself for his faithful witness would be sawn in two by this new king's orders. Ezechias then thinks of slaying Manasse, but is warned by Isaias that he cannot hope to thwart the counsels of God. This occupies chapter i. With chapter ii. begins the fulfilment of the prophecy. Manasse is stirred up by the false prophet Balkira to take vengeance on Isaias (ii. 13—iii. 12), whose vision of the entire future of Christianity has disconcerted the plans

<sup>1</sup> Documents pour l'Étude de la Bible publiés sous la direction de François Martin. Ascension d'Isaïe. Traduction de la version Éthiopienne, &c. Par Eugène Tisserand. Pp. 252. Price, 4.00 fr. Paris: Letouzey. 1909.

of Beliar-Sammael, that is, Satan (iii. 13—iv. 22). The story of the consequent martyrdom of the prophet is the subject of chapter v., which ends the first part of the document. The second part, which contains six chapters, is entitled the *Vision of Isaias*, and could of itself fittingly bear the designation of the *Ascension of Isaias*. It is in the form of an account given by Isaias to Ezechias of a vision he had had in that King's palace, in the twentieth year of his reign; and how in this vision he had been carried upwards through the firmament to Heaven, and then in turn through all its seven divisions. Attaining to the last he hears the divine will signified that the Son shall become Man, and then sees Him pass through the several stages of His human life till He returns clothed with His humanity to take His place at the Father's right hand. A short epilogue adds that this was the vision for declaring which Isaias incurred the anger of Manasse, and was put to death.

Origen is the earliest witness who shows unquestionable acquaintance with the Martyrdom of Isaias, as appears from the fact that he not only makes mention of the mode of martyrdom, but also of the particular charge against the prophet for which it was inflicted. In his first homily on Isaias he asks :

Why should we not say that there is a Jewish tradition which is probable if not true. . . . For they say that Isaias was cut in two by the people, as a transgressor of the law and a proclaimer of things contrary to Scripture. For Scripture says "No man shall see My face and live"—but he said, I saw the Lord of hosts. Moses, they say, "did not see Him, and hast thou seen Him?" And for this they cut him in two.

There are, however, one or two earlier writers who refer us, as to an authenticated fact, to Isaias being sawn asunder. Such are Tertullian and Justin Martyr, not to speak of Heb. x. 37; such, too, are the Talmuds of Babylon and of Jerusalem. But these texts do not necessarily presuppose more than an oral tradition concerning the martyrdom. To the second part of the document, the first distinct reference is in St. Epiphanius's *Hæreses*, a fourth century treatise, but from that time onwards the allusions to it are frequent. It is on the combination of these allusions with the internal evidence of the document itself that all conjectures as to its date must rest. There is general agreement among modern scholars that the document is composite in character, and Dillmann's hypothesis, accepted

provisionally by Professor R. H. Charles, of Dublin, is most in favour at present. He thinks there were in the first instance two independent documents, the first, of Jewish origin, comprising the account of the Martyrdom (ii. 1—v. 14), but omitting the account of the Vision (iii. 13—iv. 22); the second of Christian origin, containing the entire Vision of Isaias up to the few final verses (vi.—xi. 40). These were afterwards combined by some Christian, who also supplied a prologue (i. 1, 2, 4—14), and an epilogue (xi. 41, 42). Later still another Christian redactor inserted i. 3, iii. 13—iv. 22, and a few other verses. M. Tisserand accepts with slight reservations Dillmann's hypothesis, as revised by Charles, and perhaps he is right. Still it is impossible to regard the questions of date and conflation as finally settled. St. Jerome indeed speaks of the martyrdom as a "*certissima traditio Judaeorum*," but this does not necessarily refer to more than the oral tradition, so that it is not impossible that this part, as well as the rest, is of Christian origin, its Christian composers and redactors having drawn on the Jewish oral tradition. In the same way the fact that before St. Epiphanius we have no allusion to the Vision part of the document, does not make it certain that this part was not as yet written or added. All is uncertain, save indeed that iii. 2—iv. 22, does seem a manifest interpolation.

The original of the document was apparently Greek, but the only text in which it has come down to us in its entirety is that of an Ethiopian version preserved in three good MSS., but there are also extant some fragments of a Greek text, and also of a Latin and a Slavonian version. There is, too, a *Legenda Graeca* in a splendid MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, which embodies a free edition of the text of the document. Hence, Dillmann made a critical text by taking the Ethiopian as his basis, and correcting it with the aid of these other materials. It is this text which M. Tisserand borrows for his volume.

What, it will be asked, is the value to us of this *Ascension of Isaias*? M. Tisserand thinks it contains valuable testimony to primitive Christian belief concerning the Son of God, the Holy Ghost, the seven Heavens, the angels and devils, the Church and the martyrdom of St. Peter, as well as the events of the last days, and the coming of Antichrist. This may be true, but we must confess we do not find the evidence very decisive, especially in the uncertainty as to the date of composition. In itself, the *Ascension of Isaias* is a most jejune and uninteresting document.

## Short Notices.

THE MONTH, which originally published the poem in 1865, may claim a special interest in the magnificent *édition de luxe* of *The Dream of Gerontius*, with holograph facsimile and specimen pages of the rough draft, of which Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Co., have recently issued a strictly limited number at 31s. 6d. net. The book is a vellum-bound folio, magnificently printed by the Oxford University Press, on paper and with margins worthy of such a classic. A critical introduction is contributed by Mr. Edward Bellasis, which embodies Newman's sketch of the dead friend, Father Joseph Gordon, of the Oratory, to whom *The Dream* is dedicated. The facsimile rough drafts and fair copy are exceedingly interesting from a literary point of view, as showing the poet's method of working and the keen critical sense that dominated his inspiration. That he did write under a genuine *afflatus* the poet himself confesses, and yet the *labor limæ* was not unnecessary. It would be a fascinating and suggestive occupation for some Professor of Poetry to compare the fair copy with the rough draft and try to determine the reasons of the various excisions and changes. Messrs. Longmans are to be congratulated on their enterprize.

Nearly everything in Mr. Belloc's book of essays—*On Everything*, (Methuen, 5s.), papers reprinted mostly from the *Morning Post*, is worth preserving in book form. For the writer has all the qualities of a capable essayist—minute observation, wide experience, power of generalizing and of seeing analogies, a sound system of philosophy and, not least, a graceful flexible style which is an abiding pleasure in itself. We must own that occasionally style rather than matter entertains us, for Mr. Belloc has been a great traveller over the highways and byeways of Europe, particularly the latter, and not a few of the essays are mainly topographical, although even in these he aims generally at connecting the lie of the country with the character and history of its inhabitants. But there are also abundant specimens of his characteristic pathos, humour, and irony; the paper on *A Descendant of William Shakespeare*, which effectively "drew" an over-literal correspondent, may be cited as a delightful example of the two latter qualities, and *The Dream* of the first-named. A large saneness of outlook pervades the whole, a clear vision which penetrates shams and does not blink at ultimate realities. The essay, *On Two Manuals*—one for the instruction of undergraduates, and the other for the enlightenment of politicians—indicates to some extent the steadiness and wholeness of the author's conception of life. Here is a passage from the concluding portion.

Armed with these manuals the youth and manhood of a nation would at once vastly change. You would find young men recently proceeded from the University filled with laudable doubts arising from the vastness of God's scheme, and yet modestly secure in certain essential truths such as their own existence, and that of an objective universe, the

voice of conscience and the difference between right and wrong. While among those of more mature years, who were controlling the energies of the State, there would appear an exact observance of real things, an admitted inability to know what would happen fifty or even twenty years hence, and a habit of using plain language which they and their audience could easily understand : of using such language tersely and occasionally with conviction.

Would that Mr. Belloc, who thinks that these manuals will not be written, would attempt at least one of them for the benefit of our generation.

One who might perhaps be especially helped by the first manual is neither an undergraduate nor a statesman, but one who alas ! brings to the study of fundamental truths, the "cocksureness" of the former and the irrelevancies of the latter. In *A New Marcion* (Longmans, 1s. net.), Professor Sanday convicts Mr. F. C. Conybeare of these and even more objectionable qualities. The book under review is the latter's *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, one of those attacks on revealed religion which a strong antecedent conviction and a one-sided reading of primeval history are constantly bringing forth. This particular infant is not likely to survive Professor Sanday's onslaught.

No one could write such poetry as is contained in the booklet of twenty-six short pieces, by Joseph Thorp (*A Knight's Heart, and Other Verses*, Elkin Matthews, 2s. 6d. net), without having written a good deal more which is not published. Here, then, we have what is obviously a selection of the poet's best and highest, and excellent indeed it is. Love, human and divine, and loyalty form the prevalent themes, sometimes treated apart and sometimes interwoven, but always with rare insight and apt expression. We venture to think that *A Priest's Prayer* will find its way into many a Breviary.

Outside the Church the ideals of asceticism have almost entirely passed away. The "world" indeed has never accepted the principles of penance and self-denial : they spring from faith, and worldlings have no faith : were they to act as if they had they would be of all men the most miserable. But even among non-Catholic Christians we find that the original notion of justification by faith only has had a widespread result in a misappreciation of voluntary mortification. Hence, it is with some apprehension that we approach a non-Catholic *Life of a Saint*, remarkable even amongst the Saints, by his devotion to this virtue. Are we to find his austerity ascribed to fanaticism, mediæval ignorance, superstition, Manicheism and the like, or intelligently referred to its true source, the loving imitation of the Man of Sorrows ? In the *Court of a Saint*, by Winifred F. Knox (Methuen, 10s. 6d. net), we are glad to find such apprehension uncalled for. The writer has been able, through her own sympathy with the Gospel spirit and the code of the Beatitudes, to see the character of St. Louis of France in its true light and to give it its appropriate setting in his Court. The book is a careful study of the times, written in a bright and pleasant fashion by one fully possessed of her subject. But, although capable of rightly appreciating sanctity, Miss Knox, naturally enough, has not been able to set forth the idea of the Papacy as it is seen by Catholics. We find the Papacy and the Church contrasted, and the spiritual and temporal aspects of the former are not clearly separated. To such an imperfect grasp, or rather such a formal rejection, of the true theory are due such phrases as "Rome was striving for a theocracy . . . in a very worldly sense," "The alliance of King and Papacy against the Church," and the like. Knowing the author's standpoint,



Catholic readers may discount such historical interpretations, and find much to interest and edify them in this book.

**The Salvation of God** (Burns and Oates, 6d.net) is the substance of five sermons preached earlier in this year by Father M. Gavin, S.J., in the Westminster Cathedral. The theme is first developed by a discourse on the Co-Redemptrix through whom Salvation came, as illustrating the virtue of Virginity, the salt that prevents the world from being wholly corrupt; then, by an exposition of the lavish means of grace within the Church which make the state of the non-Catholic so comparatively forlorn; thirdly, by the call to perfection which Christ proclaimed both to His contemporaries and to all time; fourthly, by setting forth the ideal of the Christian home, exemplified at Nazareth; and lastly, by dwelling on the motives for confidence in our Lord as our only Hope. Clear, forcible, simple statements of doctrine, with apt illustration and application and no merely oratorical setting, these homilies are models of exposition and their publication will extend, we trust, and perpetuate the good accomplished at their first delivery.

We are glad to welcome the sixth edition of **The Sacrifice of the Mass**, "revised, enlarged, and corrected" (Burns and Oates, 1s. 6d.net.) by the same eloquent preacher. The central Act of Catholic worship should be the abiding study of all true Catholics. They will find no better means of becoming acquainted with its history, understanding its full significance, and growing in devotion towards it than by the reiterated perusal of this excellent treatise. In view of the recurring suggestion of a vernacular liturgy, the carefully-written chapter on *The Language of the Mass* is worthy of close attention. The author comes to the sound conclusion that a multiplication of vernacular liturgies would tend to the lessening of devotion to the great Sacrifice. The short synopsis of each chapter in the form of a series of questions at the end of each is an admirable feature of the book, as it is a useful test of the reader's intelligence of it, and provides a ready means of using it in schools.

God in these recent years has glorified by not a few wonderful miracles of healing a canonized Brother of the Redemptorist Order, whose history—**The Life of St. Gerard Majella** (Washbourne, 1s.)—Father Vassall-Phillips, C.S.S.R., has just republished in a third edition, it having been originally issued in 1893, the year of the Saint's canonization. It is a beautiful record of a life of great devotion to the Will of God, rewarded even here on earth by extraordinary graces from the Divine Majesty, so that St. Gerard has been styled the wonder-worker of the eighteenth century. It would seem, as many fervent clients have found, that the Saint is still specially favoured by God in this way, and we trust that this little Life of him, well printed and cheap withal, will greatly extend the range of his cultus.

We noticed Monsignor Demimud's **Saint Thomas à Becket** when it appeared in the French series *Les Saints* some time ago, and we are glad to see it added by Messrs. Duckworth to their translation of the Series. In the absence of any Preface, we cannot say whether the author aims at producing a new Life from a first-hand study of the authorities, but he seems thoroughly well informed, and tells the heroic story with clearness and force. The translation is admirably done by C. W. W.

The Rev. R. P. Garrold, S.J., has written a very interesting story of school-life, **The Boys of St. Batt's** (Macdonald and Evans, 2s. 6d.net.), which is somewhat off the usual lines. It is not a succession of escapades

in which the hero more or less successfully defies the authorities and frustrates the object for which he was sent to school. There is, in fact, no particular hero, but a number of very human boys, skilfully differentiated in character by their relations to an episode no more exciting than the poisoning of a pet rabbit. The dialogue is full of humour, and yet natural enough, and the author evidently has made a close and sympathetic study of the genus. We trust he may venture later on another and longer story of the same sort.

For a clear, well-balanced account of the heroic career of Blessed Jeanne d'Arc we can recommend Mgr. Barnes' **Blessed Joan the Maid** (Burns and Oates, 2s. 6d. net). It is not a superfluous work, though many have preceded it and the main outlines of her life are well known, for every new mind gives to some extent a fresh setting to the facts, which deepens or rounds off our previous impressions.

We trust that all Catholic teachers and many others will read **The Fountain of Life** (Longmans, 1s. net), which is an essay on the place and value of religious instruction in education, written with admirable cogency and earnestness. To the Catholic, of course, its argument should be superfluous, but we live in an atmosphere of such dense and prevalent error that our views need clarifying again and again by direct reference to the truth.

Miss Una Birch, in **Anna van Schurman: Artist, Scholar, Saint** (Longmans, 6s. 6d. net), is more successful in showing us that the subject of her biography was an artist and a scholar than that she attained what is commonly known as sanctity. It would perhaps be harsh to judge of the author's qualifications to estimate sanctity by her superficial acquaintance with Catholic matters—she imagines that Jesuits are monks—or her prejudice against the last-named Religious, whom she accuses of circulating various scandalous stories about one of their former members, indulging in machinations and the like, but we may readily concede that Anna was a good woman according to her lights, which were those of a Dutch Calvinistic community which had rejected dogma, and was devoted to mysticism. As a picture of "literary" life in Holland during the seventeenth century and of the condition of the Calvinistic sects there, particularly of the "Labadists," the book is full of interest.

We regret that we did not receive in time to notice last month three excellent books concerned with the faithful departed which M. Lethielleux has sent, viz., **Nos Morts, au purgatoire, au ciel**, by l'Abbé J.-A. Chollet; **Les Enfants que l'on pleure**, by l'Abbé J. Brugerette; and **Le Glas**, by l'Abbé E. Thiriet, all in their second edition and priced at 3.50 fr. Their aim is to console the survivors, and they do so in the most effectual way, viz., by setting forth the Catholic doctrine on the Communion of Saints. That is more directly the theme of M. l'Abbé Chollet's treatise. The Abbé Brugerette's book is a choice collection of passages in prose and verse dealing in the light of fervent faith with the incident of early death, whilst that of M. Thiriet has for main object to promote devotion to the souls in Purgatory. The occasion for such books as these is ever present, hence they are assured of permanent usefulness.

Until some Catholic publicist with the knowledge and the literary skill of the late Mr. C. S. Devas writes on the subject from the British standpoint **The Elements of Social Science and Political Economy**, by Father Lorenzo Dardano, of Broni, translated by Rev. W. McLoughlin (Gill and Son, 3s. 6d.)

will prove helpful to beginners in that useful study. The aim of the author, which was to popularize amongst the young clerics of his country the social teaching of Leo XIII., and the somewhat rhetorical character of his treatment of it are drawbacks to its utility amongst us. But in spite of these it cannot fail to prove stimulating and instructive, especially as in a variety of careful notes the translator applies, whenever necessary, the doctrine to the circumstances of these islands.

We have not noticed in suffragist literature any allusion to the Council of Bishops at Mâcon in 585 which is reported to have discussed the question whether women could properly be said to have—not votes but—souls. That this report is a pure legend has been satisfactorily shown by l'Abbé E. Vacandard in his second series of *Études de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse* (Gabalda, 3.50 fr.), but legends have many more lives than cats, and this may survive its most recent execution. The other learned studies in this volume are of more fundamental importance as having an immediate bearing on current controversy, e.g., *L'institution formelle de l'Eglise par le Christ, Les origines de la Confession Sacramentelle, La nature de pouvoir coercitif de l'Eglise*, etc.; questions which the apologist will here find exhaustively investigated.

The ancient Greeks as distinguished from the ancient Romans had no very definite traditional religion. Their educated men adopted one or other of the various philosophical systems, successively or simultaneously in vogue, but such systems were quite on other lines than the popular theology. However, in a broad sense these philosophies could be called religious beliefs, and in *Doctrines Religieuses des Philosophes Grecs* (Lethielloux: 4.00 fr.), Professor M. Louis of Meaux discusses them in that light. The book, which takes all Greek philosophy in the order of its chronological development, is a notable addition to the literature of Comparative Religions.

The Abbé J. V. Bainvel's treatise *De Scriptura Sacra* (Beauchesne, 3 fr.) contains a great deal of useful information on the subject of the Bible in a comparatively small space. The matter is treated in two parts, the first being positive or historical in form, and the second scholastic. In Part I. the chief Papal pronouncements on the nature and force of the Written Word are carefully analyzed as well as conciliar definitions and the testimony of the Fathers, whilst heretical theories are also examined and refuted. In Part II. the matter thus accumulated is discussed in an orderly system—Inspiration, Inerrancy, Canon, the Vulgate, the various "senses" of Scripture and the proper use of the Bible, all receiving clear exposition and defence. The book is a real compendium and should be invaluable in seminaries.

An interesting publication has lately been issued by the Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils of Paris, entitled *Panégryque de l'Immaculée dans les chants hymnographiques de la Liturgie grecque*. In his introduction the author alludes to the great schism of the ninth century, and describes in detail the divergences that separate the Churches of the East and West. He then goes on to speak of the devotion to the Blessed Virgin in the Greek Church and compares it with that prevailing among Catholics. Then follow the old liturgical hymns in Greek set to music and with translations in French. The spirit of the eulogy of the Blessed Virgin in these hymns is very similar to that in our own. The language is or the most part very beautiful, and the musical settings are solemn, and,

sung as they are unaccompanied and by the congregation, they are extremely devotional.

Three authors, MM. Bouchany, Périer and Tixeront have united in publishing a volume of conferences addressed to the Catholic Faculties of Lyons (*Conférences Apologétiques*: Gabalda: 3.50. fr.) on such vital subjects as *Le Modernisme*, *La Trinité*, *La Divinité de Jésus-Christ*, *L'Eglise*. The first-named subject occupies seven out of the ten conferences, which are theological throughout, and, as one may suppose, is discussed under every aspect. But it is a snake that may require as much killing as did Jansenism in its time, and no new refutations can be considered superfluous.

As long ago as last November we noticed the first part of M. le Chanoine Pisani's exhaustive study on *L'Eglise de Paris et la Révolution* (Picard: 3.50. fr.) which occupied the years 1789—1792. The learned author in a second part continues the record down to 1796, a period which includes the worst excesses of the Terror and the partial restoration of the Church following on the establishment of the Directory. It is a sad story, which nevertheless has its consolations for the persecuted French Church of to-day. The milder measures of Briand et Cie., will hardly kill an institution which survived Robespierre.

A recent penny publication of the Catholic Truth Society, *Confessions of an Unwilling Sceptic, with some friendly comments*, by William Matthews, is of much more value than its price would indicate. The confessions are short, but touch fundamental points such as God's existence, Creation, and the like. The comments aim at solving, by logical argument and the testimony of the highest intellects, especially Cardinal Newman's, the various doubts raised. We are not definitely told of the result of the discussion.

In a scholarly tract, *Il Sentimento Giuridico* (Rome, 1.50 lire), Professor del Vecchio discusses the various modern theories which have been proposed to explain how "the feeling of Justice" arises in man. The statement is extremely clear, the range of reading wide, and the presentment of the opinions of others appears (but we do not, of course, pretend to familiar acquaintance with the numerous authors quoted) to be fair and adequate. The book is not a set defence of the opinions of "the School," and the terminology may occasionally sound strange to their ears, but the line of argument and the conclusion, we fancy, are such as they will cordially support.

The year 1910 is already being provided for. Messrs. Burns and Oates send their useful little penny *Catholic Almanac*, and the Angelus Co. their *Catholic Diary* (1s. 3d. net.), which combines utility and piety in a very engaging way.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

*Angelus Co., Norwood:*

THE CATHOLIC DIARY FOR 1910. Pp. 384. Price, 1s. 3d. net.

*From the Author:*

CONFESSIONS OF AN UNWILLING SCEPTIC: By William Matthews.  
Price, 1d.

*Beauchesne, Paris:*

LE SENS COMMUN, LA PHILOSOPHIE DE L'ETRE ET LES FORMULES  
DOGMATIQUES: By Père R. Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P. Pp. xxx, 312.  
Price, 3.50 fr. 1909. EPIQUES DE SAINT PAUL, I.: By Professor  
C. Toussaint. Pp. xvii, 502. Price, 5.00 fr. DE SCRIPTURA SACRA:  
By J.-V. Bainvel. Pp. viii, 214. Price, 3.00 fr. 1909.

*Browne and Nolan, Dublin:*

DE DEO UNO ET TRINO ET DE DEO CREATORE: By Rev. Daniel  
Coghlan. Two Vols. Pp. viii, 708. Price, 10s. net. 1909.

*Burns and Oates, Ltd., London:*

BLESSED JOAN THE MAID: By A. S. Barnes, M.A. Pp. 140. Price,  
2s. 6d. net. 1909. CATHOLIC ALMANAC, 1910. Price, 1d.  
THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS: By M. Gavin, S.J. Sixth Edition.  
Pp. xxviii, 222. Price, 1s. 6d. net. 1909. THE SALVATION OF GOD:  
By M. Gavin, S.J. Pp. 64. Price, 6d. net. 1909.

*Cambridge University Press:*

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. Vol. IV.  
Edited by A. Ward and A. Waller. Pp. xii, 582. Price, 9s. net. 1909.

*Duckworth, London:*

ST. THOMAS A BECKET: By Mgr. Deminuid. Pp. 205. Price,  
2s. 6d. net. 1909.

*Elkin Mathews, London:*

A KNIGHT'S HEART, AND OTHER VERSES: By Joseph Thorp. Pp. 31.  
Price, 2s. 6d. net. 1909.

*Gabalda, Paris:*

CONFERENCES APOLOGETIQUES: By MM. Bourchany, Périer, et  
Tixeront. Pp. vi, 372. Price, 3.50 fr. 1910. ETUDES DE  
CRITIQUE ET D'HISTOIRE RELIGIEUSE: By E. Vacandard. 2e Série.  
Pp. iii, 308. Price, 3.50 fr. 1910.

*Gill and Son, Dublin:*

THE ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND POLITICAL ECONOMY:  
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